The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME LXXIII, NUMBER 1 OCTOBER 1967

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The American Historical Association supplies THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW *to all its members; annual dues are $15.00; applications for membership should be sent to the Executive Secretary, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D. C. 20003. Notice of nonreceipt of an issue must be sent to the Executive Secretary within two months of the date of publication of the issue. Changes of address should be sent to the Executive Secretary by the tenth of the month preceding the month of publication.* ***The Association cannot be responsible for copies lost because of failure to report a change of address in time for the mailing.*** *(For further information, see American Historical Association announcement following last page of text.)*

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Table of Contents

VOLUME LXXIII, NUMBER 1 OCTOBER 1967

Articles

THE MEDIEVAL COMMUNE AND INTERNAL VIOLENCE: POLICE POWER AND PUBLIC SAFETY IN SIENA, 1287–1355, by William M. Bowsky 1
PURITANISM, CAPITALISM, DEMOCRACY, AND THE NEW SCIENCE, by Leo F. Solt 18
CHURCH AND STATE IN PERU AND CHILE SINCE 1840: A STUDY IN CONTRASTS, by Fredrick B. Pike 30
THE SERBIAN CAMPAIGN OF 1915: ITS DIPLOMATIC BACKGROUND, by Gerard E. Silberstein 51
THE NEW DEAL AND THE STATES, by James T. Patterson 70

Review Note

Bolkhovitinov, DOKTRINA MONRO (PROISKHOZDENIE I KHARAKTER), by Dexter Perkins 85

Reviews of Books

General

François and *Tolu,* eds., INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES, XXXI and XXXII, by L. W. Smith 88
Yates, THE ART OF MEMORY, by W. J. Bouwsma 89
Mollat and *Adam,* presented, LES ASPECTS INTERNATIONAUX DE LA DÉCOUVERTE OCÉANIQUE AUX XV^e^ ET XVI^e^ SIÈCLES, by R. A. McIntyre 90
Black, THE DYNAMICS OF MODERNIZATION, by D. A. Rustow 91
Pole, POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN ENGLAND AND THE ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC, by M. Jensen . . . 93
Porshnev, ISTORIIA SOTSIALISTICHESKIKH UCHENII, by A. J. Rieber 93
Daniel, ISLAM, EUROPE AND EMPIRE, by J. B. Christopher 94
Bernard, GUERRE TOTALE ET GUERRE RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE, I and II, by M. Blumenson 95
Monaghan, AUSTRALIANS AND THE GOLD RUSH, by R. W. Paul 96
PERVYI INTERNATSIONAL, Pts. 1 and 2, by W. D. McClellan 97
Daniel-Rops, A FIGHT FOR GOD, by E. M. Acomb 98
Bairoch, DIAGNOSTIC DE L'ÉVOLUTION ÉCONOMIQUE DU TIERS-MONDE, by R. Cameron 99
Esthus, THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND JAPAN, by W. R. Braisted 99
Vogel-Polsky, DU TRIPARTISME À L'ORGANISATION INTERNATIONALE DU TRAVAIL, by D. I. Kulstein 100
Eubank, THE SUMMIT CONFERENCES, by H. Feis 101
Farago, THE BROKEN SEAL, by W. Millis 102
Tillmann, DEUTSCHLANDS ARABERPOLITIK IM ZWEITEN WELTKRIEG, by H. J. Gordon, Jr. 103
Baldwin, BATTLES LOST AND WON, by S. L. Falk 104
Ashby, UNIVERSITIES, by T. R. Sizer 105

Ancient

Badawy, ARCHITECTURE IN ANCIENT EGYPT AND THE NEAR EAST, by A. R. Schulman 106
LA DIVINATION EN MÉSOPOTAMIE ANCIENNE ET DANS LES RÉGIONS VOISINES, by I. J. Gelb 107
Carpenter, DISCONTINUITY IN GREEK CIVILIZATION, by E. L. Bennett, Jr. . . . 108
Palmer and *Chadwick,* eds., PROCEED-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

INGS OF THE CAMBRIDGE COLLOQUIUM ON MYCENAEAN STUDIES, by C. H. Gordon 108
Wörrle, UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUR VERFASSUNGSGESCHICHTE VON ARGOS IM 5. JAHRHUNDERT VOR CHRISTUS, by W. G. Forrest 109
ANCIENT SOCIETY AND INSTITUTIONS, by M. F. McGregor 110
Taylor, ROMAN VOTING ASSEMBLIES, by C. B Welles 111
Smith, CICERO THE STATESMAN, by G .W. Bowersock 112

Medieval

Bischoff, MITTELALTERLICHE STUDIEN, I, by F. S. Benjamin, Jr. 112
Hughes, THE CHURCH IN EARLY IRISH SOCIETY, by W. A. Chaney 113
Dahmus, SEVEN MEDIEVAL KINGS, by J. Rosenthal 114
KARL DER GROSSE, I and II, by L. Wallach 115
Thiriet, DÉLIBÉRATIONS DES ASSEMBLÉES VÉNITIENNES CONCERNANT LA ROMANIE, I, by D. Herlihy 116
Borsari, IL DOMINIO VENEZIANO A CRETA NEL XIII SECOLO and STUDI SULLE COLONIE VENEZIANE IN ROMANIA NEL XIII SECOLO, by F. C. Lane 117
Herlihy, MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE PISTOIA, by M. B. Becker 118
Chubb, DANTE AND HIS WORLD, by C. T. Davis 119
Khoroshkevich, TORGOVLIA VELIKOGO NOVGORODA S PRIBALTIKOI I ZAPADNOI EVROPOI V XIV–XV VEKAKH, by O. P. Backus 120
Favier, LES FINANCES PONTIFICALES À L'ÉPOQUE DU GRAND SCHISME D'OCCIDENT, by K. F. Drew 121
Casini, ASPETTI DELLA VITA ECONOMICA E SOCIALE DI PISA DAL CATASTO DEL 1428–1429, by W. M. Bowsky . . . 122

Modern Europe

ANCIENS PAYS ET ASSEMBLÉES D'ÉTAT, XL, by A. R. Lewis 123
Epstein, L'ÉCONOMIE ET LA MORALE AUX DÉBUTS DU CAPITALISME INDUSTRIEL EN FRANCE ET EN GRANDE-BRETAGNE, by P. N. Stearns 124
Markert, OSTEUROPA UND DIE ABENDLÄNDISCHE WELT, by B. Jelavich . . 125
De Pange, THE UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE OF MADAME DE STAËL AND THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON, by F. B. Artz 126
Saitta, ed., LE RELAZIONI DIPLOMATICHE FRA LA FRANCIA E IL REGNO DELLE DUE SICILIE, 2d Ser., I, by W. C. Askew 126
Imlah, BRITAIN AND SWITZERLAND, by H. R. Williams 127
Malettke, DIE BEURTEILUNG DER AUSSEN- UND INNENPOLITIK BISMARCKS VON 1862–1866 IN DEN GROSSEN PARISER ZEITUNGEN, by A. Dorpalen . . . 128
Böhmer, FRANKREICH ZWISCHEN REPUBLIK UND MONARCHIE IN DER BISMARCKZEIT, by E. N. Anderson 129
Bennett, BRITISH BROADCASTING AND THE DANISH RESISTANCE MOVEMENT, by W. G. Inman 129
Aveling, NORTHERN CATHOLICS, by R. E. Burns 130
Esler, THE ASPIRING MIND OF THE ELIZABETHAN YOUNGER GENERATION, by W. T. MacCaffrey 131
Fisher, ed., CALENDAR OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD SACKVILLE OF KNOLE, SEVENOAKS, KENT, II; *Prestwich*, CRANFIELD, by J. M. Price 132
Josten, ed., ELIAS ASHMOLE, I–V, by C. F. Mullett 133
Prall, THE AGITATION FOR LAW REFORM DURING THE PURITAN REVOLUTION, by M. A. Judson 134
Boyce, THE BENEVOLENT MAN, by A. G. Olson 135
Patterson, A HISTORY OF SOUTHAMPTON, I, by T. W. Perry 136
Parreaux, LA SOCIÉTÉ ANGLAISE DE 1760 À 1810, by D. E. Ginter 137
Roe, LAMENNAIS AND ENGLAND, by J. Ratté 138
Blake, DISRAELI, by S. R. Graubard . . 139
Kamm, RAPIERS AND BATTLEAXES, by E. Flexner 140
Smith, THE MAKING OF THE SECOND REFORM BILL, by T. R. Tholfsen. . . 141
Wilson, THE DOWNFALL OF THE LIBERAL PARTY, by P. P. Poirier 141
Nicolson, DIARIES AND LETTERS, 1930–1939, by R. W. Lyman 142
Butler and *King*, THE BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION OF 1966, by S. R. Graubard 143
Senior, ORANGEISM IN IRELAND AND BRITAIN, by L. J. McCaffrey 144
L'HISTOIRE SOCIALE, by E. L. Eisenstein 145
Schaer, LE CLERGÉ PAROISSIAL CATHOLIQUE EN HAUTE ALSACE SOUS L'ANCIEN RÉGIME, by G. Adams 146
Meyer, LA NOBLESSE BRETONNE AU XVIII[e] SIÈCLE, by R. Forster 147
Mellor, HISTOIRE DE L'ANTICLÉRICALISME

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FRANÇAIS, by C. Brinton 148
Hardy et al., eds., THE MACLURE COLLECTION OF FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY MATERIAL, by R. W. Greenlaw 149
Ponteil, HISTOIRE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT EN FRANCE, by C. Jefferson. 150
Resnick, THE WHITE TERROR AND THE POLITICAL REACTION AFTER WATERLOO, by P. H. Beik 151
Montclos, LE TOAST D'ALGER, by J. E. Ward 151
Johnson, FRANCE AND THE DREYFUS AFFAIR, by E. Weber 152
Sieburg, DIE GRUBENKATASTROPHE VON COURRIÈRES 1906, by E. N. Anderson 153
Wohl, FRENCH COMMUNISM IN THE MAKING, by H. Goldberg 154
Kriegel, LA CROISSANCE DE LA C.G.T., by H. Goldberg 155
Franken, COENRAAD VAN BEUNINGEN'S POLITIEKE EN DIPLOMATIEKE AKTIVITEITEN IN DE JAREN 1667–1684, by H. H. Rowen 156
De Visscher and *Vanlangenhove*, pubs., DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES BELGES, 1920–1940, V, by P. H. Laurent . . 157
Rosenberg, MUUTTOLIIKE UUDENMAAN LÄÄNISSÄ ESI-INDUSTRIALISTISEN KAUDEN LOPULLA, by J. I. Kolehmainen 158
Kaarsted, ADMIRAL HENRI KONOWS ERINDRINGER, I, by H. E. Ellersieck . . 159
Gieraths, comp., DIE KAMPFHANDLUNGEN DER BRANDENBURGISCH-PREUSSISCHEN ARMEE, by P. Paret 160
Krüger, DIE JUDENSCHAFT VON KÖNIGSBERG IN PREUSSEN 1700–1812, by S. Beinfeld 160
Paret, YORCK AND THE ERA OF PRUSSIAN REFORM, by K. Epstein 161
Lidtke, THE OUTLAWED PARTY, by R. N. Hunt 162
DIE DEUTSCHEN OSTGEBIETE ZUR ZEIT DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK, by J. B. Mason 163
Schmädeke, MILITÄRISCHE KOMMANDOGEWALT UND PARLAMENTARISCHE DEMOKRATIE, by G. A. Craig 164
Schwarzwälder, DIE MACHTERGREIFUNG DER NSDAP IN BREMEN 1933, by D. Orlow 165
Corti and *Sokol*, KAISER FRANZ JOSEPH, by A. J. May 166
Kielmansegg, KAISERHAUS, STAATSMÄNNER UND POLITIKER, by W. A. Jenks . . 167
Melpignano, L'ANTICURIALISMO NAPOLETANO SOTTO CARLO III, by E. P. Noether 168
Meeks, ITALIAN ARCHITECTURE, by A. W. Salomone 169
De Sanctis, EPISTOLARIO, by G. R. Gilkey 170
IL GIORNALISMO ITALIANO DAL 1861 AL 1870, by J. Thayer 171
Posner and *Woolf*, ITALIAN PUBLIC ENTERPRISE, by R. Sarti 172
Purš, ed., ATLAS ČESKOSLOVENSKÝCH DĚJIN, by S. B. Winters 173
Wright, SERF, SEIGNEUR, AND SOVEREIGN, by F. G. Heymann 174
Daskalakis, Ο ΑΔΑΜΑΝΤΙΟΣ ΚΟΡΑΗΣ ΚΑΙ Η ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ, by G. G. Arnakis . . 175
Dontas, THE LAST PHASE OF THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE IN WESTERN GREECE and GREECE AND THE GREAT POWERS, by W. P. Kaldis 176
Ristić, YUGOSLAVIA'S REVOLUTION OF 1941, by I. J. Lederer 177
Herberstein, BESCHREIBUNG MOSKAUS, DER HAUPTSTADT IN RUSSLAND, SAMT DES MOSKOWITISCHEN GEBIETES, by W. Kirchner 170
Smirnov et al., KREST'IANSKIE VOINY V ROSSII XVII–XVIII VV., by P. Avrich 179
Garder, A HISTORY OF THE SOVIET ARMY, by C. V. P. von Luttichau 180
Brown, STANKEVICH AND HIS MOSCOW CIRCLE, by S. Monas 181
Rieber, ed., THE POLITICS OF AUTOCRACY, by R. E. Zelnik 182
Armstrong, RUSSIAN SETTLEMENT IN THE NORTH, by R. V. Allen 183
Avrich, THE RUSSIAN ANARCHISTS, by G. L. Yaney 184
Kapitsa et al., eds., DOKUMENTY VNESHNEI POLITIKI SSSR, XI, by M. Pundeff 185
Eudin and *Slusser*, SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY, I; *Griffith*, anal. and doc., SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS, by A. J. Rieber . . 186

Near East

Tibawi, AMERICAN INTERESTS IN SYRIA, by S. Glazer 187
Mousa, T. E. LAWRENCE, by H. L. Hoskins 188
Zabih, THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN IRAN, by T. C. Young 189
Abu Jaber, THE ARAB BA'TH SOCIALIST PARTY, by H. N. Howard 190

Africa

Ling, TUNISIA, by R. M. Brace . . . 190
Nørregård, DANISH SETTLEMENTS IN WEST AFRICA, by H. R. Rudin 191
Bovill, ed., MISSIONS TO THE NIGER, II,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by D. L. Wiedner 192
Gérard-Libois, KATANGA SECESSION, by L. H. Gann 193
Mungeam, BRITISH RULE IN KENYA, by M. L. Bates 194
Drechsler, SÜDWESTAFRIKA UNTER DEUTSCHER KOLONIALHERRSCHAFT, by H. R. Rudin 195

Asia and the East

Wakeman, STRANGERS AT THE GATE, by E. Swisher 195
Kitagawa, RELIGION IN JAPANESE HISTORY, by H. D. Harootunian . . . 197
Varley, THE ŌNIN WAR, by D. M. Brown 197
Akita, FOUNDATIONS OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN MODERN JAPAN, by N. Ike 199
Suh, THE KOREAN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, by H. Kang 199
Tarafdar, HUSAIN SHAHI BENGAL, by F. Abbott 200
Moore, LIBERALISM AND INDIAN POLITICS, by R. I. Crane 201
Ward, RAJAH'S SERVANT, by L. A. Mills 202
Cady, THAILAND, BURMA, LAOS, & CAMBODIA, by B. Harrison 203
Trager, WHY VIET NAM? by H. J. Benda 204
Steinberg, PHILIPPINE COLLABORATION IN WORLD WAR II, by R. R. Smith . . . 205
Shaw, CONVICTS AND THE COLONIES, by S. C. McCulloch 206
Hagan, PRINTERS AND POLITICS, by P. J. Coleman 207

Americas

Lyons, ed., AMERICA, by W. Gray . . 208
Van Tassel and *Hall*, eds., SCIENCE AND SOCIETY IN THE UNITED STATES, by O. E. Anderson, Jr. 209
Bailyn, THE IDEOLOGICAL ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, by J. P. Greene 209
Beaver, CHURCH, STATE, AND THE AMERICAN INDIANS, by H. E. Fritz . . . 211
Black, THE YOUNGER JOHN WINTHROP, by R. S. Dunn 212
Barrow, TRADE AND EMPIRE, by J. M. Sosin 212
Burke, PURITANS AT BAY, by J. M. Bumsted 213
Burlingame, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN: *Lopez*, MON CHER PAPA, by A. C. Land. 214
Mason, THE ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE, by D. R. Gerlach 215
Clark, ed., NAVAL DOCUMENTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, II, by G. A. Billias 216
Loomis and *Nasatir*, PEDRO VIAL AND THE ROADS TO SANTA FE, by J. E. Sunder 217
Bowen, MIRACLE AT PHILADELPHIA, by J. P. Greene 218
Madsen, THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY, by E. L. Kayser 219
Bailey, PRESIDENTIAL GREATNESS, by R. N. Current 219
Betts and *Bear*, eds., THE FAMILY LETTERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON, by L. J. Cappon 220
Tanselle, ROYALL TYLER, by H. H. Clark 221
Syrett, ed., THE PAPERS OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON, X and XI, by R. E. Welch, Jr. 222
Kmen, MUSIC IN NEW ORLEANS, by W. Rundell, Jr. 223
Goetzmann, WHEN THE EAGLE SCREAMED, by D. M. Pletcher 224
Harris, SOCIALIST ORIGINS IN THE UNITED STATES, by R. Vecoli 225
Strode, ed., JEFFERSON DAVIS, by W. L. Brown 226
Wilburn, BIDDLE'S BANK, by F. O. Gatell 226
Van Orman, A ROOM FOR THE NIGHT, by D. E. King 227
Nadeau, FORT LARAMIE AND THE SIOUX INDIANS, by W. T. Jackson 228
Gaillardet, SKETCHES OF EARLY TEXAS AND LOUISIANA, by R. V. Haynes . . 229
Jordan, GERMAN SEED IN TEXAS SOIL, by V. Carstensen 230
Silbey, THE SHRINE OF PARTY, by C. Sellers 231
Merk, THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND AMERICAN EXPANSIONISM, by R. H. Bastert 231
Clarke, ed., THE ORIGINAL JOURNALS OF HENRY SMITH TURNER, by I. G. Clark 232
Paul, THE CALIFORNIA GOLD DISCOVERY, by E. R. Bingham 233
Kemble, ed., TO CALIFORNIA AND THE SOUTH SEAS, by C. H. Hunter . . . 234
Thompson, ROBERT TOOMBS OF GEORGIA, by D. Donald 235
Bogina, IMMIGRATSIIA V SSHA NAKANUNE I V PERIOD GRAZHDANSKOI VOINY, by R. V. Allen 236
Skard and *Wasser*, eds., AMERICANA NORVEGICA, I, by G. H. Knoles . . . 237
Krebs, presented, LES ÉTATS-UNIS PENDANT LA GUERRE DE SÉCESSION, VUS PAR UN JOURNALISTE FRANÇAIS, ERNEST DUVERGIER DE HAURANNE, by B. L. Lee 238
Manarin, ed., RICHMOND AT WAR, by W. E. Stokes, Jr. 238

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Eschenbacher, THE UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND, by T. R. Crane 239
Hyman, ed., NEW FRONTIERS OF THE AMERICAN RECONSTRUCTION, by J. M. McPherson 240
Hirshson, GRENVILLE M. DODGE, by J. F. Stover 241
Jones, THE TREATY OF MEDICINE LODGE, by J. C. Olson 242
Judd, THE BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY, by W. E. Washburn . . . 242
Link et al., eds., THE PAPERS OF WOODROW WILSON, I, by F. Freidel . . . 243
Blumberg, FLORENCE KELLEY, by R. H. Bremner 244
Isaac, PROHIBITION AND POLITICS, by N. Mezvinsky 245
Barnouw, A TOWER IN BABEL, I, by R. D. Heffner 246
Weems, PEARY, by J. E. Caswell . . . 247
Reuter, CATHOLIC INFLUENCE ON AMERICAN COLONIAL POLICIES, by T. T. McAvoy 248
Morrison, JOSEPHUS DANIELS, by A. Schlesinger, Jr. 248
Cohen, THE AMERICAN REVISIONISTS, by S. Adler 249
Daniels, THE TIME BETWEEN THE WARS, by R. J. Cooke 250
Blake, PAUL V. MCNUTT, by J. L. Bates . 251
Moley, THE FIRST NEW DEAL, by A. B. Rollins, Jr. 252
Landis, THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE, by S. G. Payne 253
Polenberg, REORGANIZING ROOSEVELT'S GOVERNMENT, by J. M. Burns . . . 254
Schaffer, VITO MARCANTONIO, RADICAL IN CONGRESS, by A. Mann 255
Krueger, AND PROMISES TO KEEP, by M. D. Speizman 255
Fehrenbach, F. D. R.'S UNDECLARED WAR, by S. E. Gleason 256
Groueff, MANHATTAN PROJECT, by K. Birr 257
FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1944, I, by L. L. Gerson 258
Matusow, FARM POLICIES AND POLITICS IN THE TRUMAN YEARS, by A. Theoharis 259
Gowans, BUILDING CANADA, by J. D. Forbes 260
Gunn, THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF NEWFOUNDLAND, by G. E. Panting . . . 260
Arciniegas, LATIN AMERICA, by A. R. Steele 261
Ojer, LA FORMACIÓN DEL ORIENTE VENEZOLANO, I, by W. Borah 262
Moore, THE CABILDO IN PERU UNDER THE BOURBONS, by J. Lynch 263
Fisher, THE LAST INCA REVOLT, by L. Hanke 264
Simmons, MARSHAL DEODORO AND THE FALL OF DOM PEDRO II, by D. E. Worcester 264
Pendergast, ed., PALENQUE, by C. Gibson 265
Díaz, tr., VERSIÓN FRANCESA DE MÉXICO, by A. Blumberg 266
Morris, ÉLITES, INTELLECTUALS, AND CONSENSUS, by R. J. Alexander . . 267
VEINTICINCO AÑOS DE INVESTIGACIÓN HISTÓRICA EN MÉXICO, by H. F. Cline . 268

Other Recent Publications 270

Association Notes

American Historical Association 328
Recent Deaths 336
Communications 337

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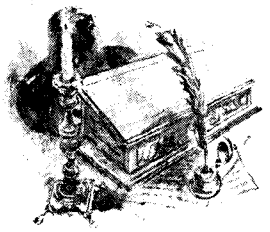
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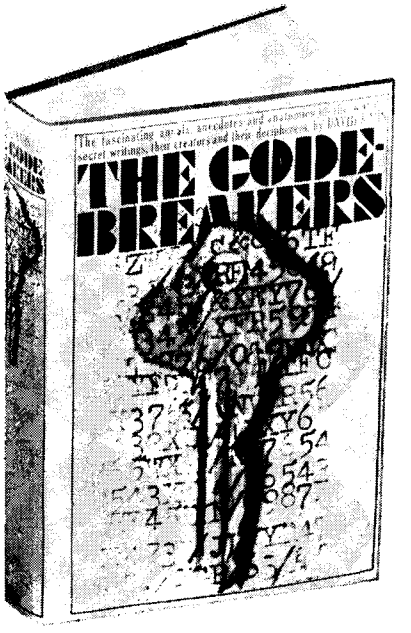
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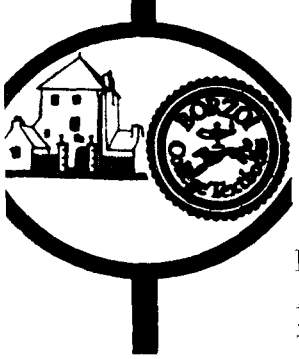
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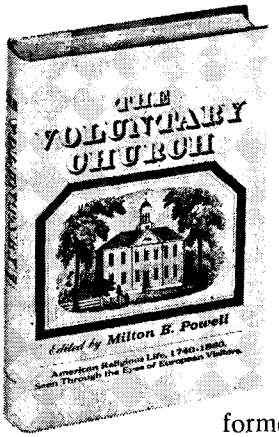
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The Medieval Commune and Internal Violence: Police Power and Public Safety in Siena, 1287-1355

WILLIAM M. BOWSKY*

RARELY does the medievalist treat a theme of such contemporary interest as that of this paper. We need only recall how recently a major candidate for national office made the problem of crime in America's cities a significant public issue, or recollect the riots in Detroit and elsewhere. Yet even medieval historians have paid little direct attention to the specific problem of internal violence, particularly in Italy.

This article is a case study—an examination of police power and public safety in the heart of a Tuscan city-state from the late thirteenth through the mid-fourteenth century, when an oligarchy called the Nine ruled the Sienese commune. What follow are suggestions and tentative findings concerning Sienese urban police power that arose during preparation of a forthcoming general study of Siena under the Nine.[1]

In order to bring the issue into the clearest focus, the concentration will be

* Mr. Bowsky, a professor at the University of California, Davis, is the author of *Henry VII in Italy* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1960) and editor of *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*. He based this article on a paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, San Francisco, California, December 28, 1965. The necessary archival investigation was undertaken during a research trip made possible by a Guggenheim fellowship and a Social Science Research Council fellowship.

[1] The most recent examination of the Nine is William Bowsky, "The *Buon Governo* of Siena (1287-1355): A Mediaeval Italian Oligarchy," *Speculum*, XXXVII (July 1962), 368-81.

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upon the mother city of Siena itself, to the exclusion of the *contado* or state bordering the city and governed by it. Nor can this be an examination of justice in the broadest sense, including criminal law, courts, and their jurisdiction and procedure. Rather it is an examination of the problem of the protection of the community from lawbreakers: their detection, apprehension, and detention—strictly police functions.

Basic questions must be posed, even though there is not always sufficient documentation to provide the most satisfactory answers. How did communal authorities conceive of the problem of police power? To what extent and degree did it concern them? How did the government deal with the problem? With what results? And what might such an examination contribute to our knowledge of other facets of life, values, or problems in a late medieval or early Renaissance commune?

The commune was in fact vitally concerned with the seizure, punishment, and removal from circulation of lawbreakers. Its prisons were foul, dank, and crowded. This is not surprising as the commune "farmed" the custody of its prisons to Sienese citizens or companies, who, in turn, in the manner of tax farmers, sought to recoup their expenses and to extract a profit from the prisoners. The result was no overgenerosity in the treatment of prisoners who were regularly chained to the walls to prevent attempts at escape.

The government took considerable interest in the prisons. In 1330 new communally owned institutions were completed beneath the great Communal Palace, and prisoners were transferred to them from jails that the commune had rented in a private palace—jails in which over sixty prisoners had died during only the preceding two years.[2]

Communal prison regulations of 1298, still unpublished, illuminate the attitudes of the governing classes toward crime and the bases for the distinctions made in the treatment of prisoners.[3] The regulations provided for the division of the jails into three principal sections. The first consisted of two rooms, one of which served for the detention of those convicted of the so-called "enormous crimes," among them homicide, treason, arson, kidnaping, rape, poisoning, mutilation, torture, highway robbery, perjury, wounding and drawing blood, and breaking into a home for the purpose of theft.[4]

[2] See Alessandro Lisini's note to an anonymous Sienese chronicle, published in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores,* New Ser., XV, Pt. 6, *Cronache senesi,* ed. Alessandro Lisini and Fabio Iacometti (Bologna, 1931–37), 142 n. 1.

[3] Statuti, Siena, N. 4, fols. 326r–327r (Feb. 5, 1298) [The unpublished manuscripts referred to in the article are in the Archivio di Stato of Siena.]; cf. the incomplete summary, without date or citation, in Carlo Falletti-Fossati, *Costumi senesi nella seconda metà del secolo* XIV (Siena, 1881), 152.

[4] For the enormous crimes, see *Il costituto del comune di Siena volgarizzato nel MCCCIX–MCCCX,* ed. Alessandro Lisini (2 vols., Siena, 1903), Dist. V, r. cccxxix; cf. the fragment of

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Another room held those convicted of lesser crimes. The second major section also had two rooms: one for convicted debtors and the other for women, regardless of the offense. Confined in the third section were those not yet sentenced but undergoing investigation or trial, with one significant exception: nobles and *boni homines* under investigation for any crime that did not entail the death penalty could live in a special house of detention, or, if they provided the highest communal magistrate (the podesta) with surety for good conduct, they could even leave the house of detention.

Thus, while the commune made what we would consider a wise distinction between accused and convicted, it made two additional distinctions: one relegating women to a separate category, and another providing special, lenient treatment for the commune's most powerful, wealthy, and politically important elements, both noble and popular, so long as they were the well-to-do citizens of good reputation generally understood by their fellow Sienese to be comprehended within the term *boni homines*.

Well might the government concern itself with public safety, for this was an age characterized by rapid resort to violence despite the centuries-old teachings of the Church. Inadequate documentation prevents an accurate estimate of the numbers of persons seized and confined, but an incomplete register shows over seventeen thousand persons from the city and *contado* fined for criminal acts from mid-1270 to mid-1296,[5] while in a brief three weeks in 1298 only one judge for a single third of the city heard seventeen criminal cases.[6] Almost every six months from two to fifty or more prisoners were released as religious offerings.[7] And records do not give us the number of those who eluded capture.

the Constitution of 1262, "L'ultima parte del Constituto senese del 1262," ed. Ugo Guido Mondolfo, *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria,* V (1898), 194–228, Dist. V, r. 275, p. 213.

[5] Biccherna, N. 725 (July 1270–June 1296), a volume in the somewhat misnamed series "Banditi e Carcerati," a miscellaneous collection of registers compiled for Biccherna officials from original books of sentences. The volumes for the period of the Nine are disappointing (Biccherna, N. 725–34), as entries frequently fail to include the reasons for sentencing, persons sentenced to death, or whether an individual was in fact captured or forced to pay his fine. Included, however, are some persons sentenced for debt. (*Ibid.*, N. 731, 732, 734 actually contain lists of persons benefiting from general compositions; see note 47, below.)

[6] Podesta, Criminali, N. 6, fols. 11–35r.

[7] Prisoners were ordinarily freed in honor of Christmas, Easter, and of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. Records of this action occasionally appear in the deliberations of the *Consiglio Generale* or City Council [hereafter cited as CG], together with some, but usually not all, of the following data: the prisoners' names, places of residence, reason for conviction, semester convicted, and fines. See, e.g., CG, N. 48, fols. 44r–46r (Aug. 14, 1295), twenty-two men and three women freed; N. 65, fols. 211r–214r (Dec. 28, 1304), nine men; N. 94, fols. 88v–91r (Aug. 13, 1320), fifteen men and five women, and fols. 207v–209v (Dec. 23, 1320), seventeen men and three women; N. 106, fols. 21v–24r (Aug. 12, 1328), four men and five women, and fols. 116v–120r (Dec. 22, 1328), eight men. Cf. Concistoro, N. 1, fol. 40v (Feb. 20, 1339), N. 2, fol. 13v (Nov. 15, 1347): the Nine appointed commissions of three men each to prepare lists of prisoners to be released.

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No single class of society possessed a monopoly on violence. To expand upon the numerous episodes involving members of powerful noble families would belabor the obvious. Published chronicles alone are replete with tales of their murders, assaults, and minor battles. And wool manufacturer and woolworker, shopkeeper and manual laborer, all are among those seized and sentenced. It might, however, be particularly timely to add in fairness that the students who frequented the Sienese *Studio* or university were quite law abiding, particularly as compared with their counterparts at the University of Bologna and elsewhere.[8]

The clergy were not exempt from the proclivity to resort to violence. Episcopal provisions of 1297 envisioned clerics committing every imaginable sort of crime from sedition and sodomy to brawling and breaking bones.[9] And despite its generally good relations with the Sienese church, the commune adamantly enforced its own police jurisdiction against criminous clerics, even when this meant lengthy and expensive litigation and threats of excommunication.[10]

The fairer sex produced its share of mayhem and bloodshed and for good measure seems to have been well equipped with sharp tongues, for whose use many were seized and punished. Not without interest is a sentence of 1342 against a woman who had struck a man on the forehead with a lantern and drawn blood. Her fine was increased because of her contumacy, but halved "because a woman against a man," doubled again "because at night," and doubled once more "because she struck him in his house."[11] Like other townsmen, the medieval Sienese was no stranger to the idea that a man's home is his castle.

[8] See esp. CG, N. 96, fols. 97v–101v (Apr. 6, 1322), a hitherto unnoticed deliberation in which the City Council approved the petition of "Maynardus de Ungaria Ultramontanorum et Guilielmus de Posterla citramontanorum Rectores scolarium iuris canonici et civilis Universitatis Senarum" for the cancellation of a death sentence for homicide ordered by the podesta of July–December 1321 against "dominum Gregorium de Ungaria scolarem in iure canonico dicte universitatis," because of the defendant's clerical status and of special pacts between the commune and the university (fol. 99r). In the same session the council cancelled another sentence by the same podesta, Count Simon of Battifolle, against a German servant of German scholars at the university who had brawled with one of his fellow servants. These deliberations reveal for the first time the nationality of the rector Mainardo. (Cf. *Chartularium Studii Senensis,* I, *1240–1357,* ed. Giovanni Cecchini and Giulio Prunai [Siena, 1942], index *s.v.* Mainardo and Menardo; see also *ibid.,* N. 193 [Sept. 24, 1322].)

[9] See Lodovico Zdekauer, "Statuti criminali del fôro ecclesiastico di Siena (sec. XIII–XIV)," *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria,* VII (1900), 231–64.

[10] See Giugurta Tommasi, *Dell' Historie di Siena* (2 vols., Venice, 1625–26), II, 120; *Cronache senesi,* ed. Lisini and Iacometti, 277 (Paolo di Tommaso Montauri); CG, N. 37, fols. 53r–54v (Mar. 7, 1289); Biccherna, N. 99, fol. 46v, N. 102, fol. 16r; all concerning the decapitation of a priest for homicide at the order of a podesta. CG, N. 48, fols. 60r (Sept. 30, 1295) and 64r (Oct. 15, 1295), refers to the case of a Sienese cleric sentenced by the commune for the murder of a citizen. Cf. *ibid.,* N. 43, fol. 10r-v (Jan. 5, 1292), concerning the request by Rinaldo Malavolti, bishop of Siena, for the release of a Ser Paparinus, being held by the podesta for criminal trial.

[11] Podesta, Criminali, N. 30, fol. 7r.

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Crime and violence were not only common, but involved every sort of activity from the so-called "enormous crimes" to drunken brawling. The commune had to contend, moreover, with violence that erupted as a result of special situations it was not always able to prevent, particularly food riots. These occurred during the famines and food shortages that plagued Tuscany on several occasions during the first half of the fourteenth century. One such riot in 1329 cost the commune over L. 667 to reimburse only for stolen grain.[12]

Such nonviolent crimes as bearing unauthorized weapons, breaking curfew, gambling, and frequenting taverns required law enforcement. Some offenses such as blasphemy and sodomy entailed what today seem to be disproportionately severe penalties, penalties that at times were executed. Thus in 1336 a blasphemer who failed to pay a weighty fine within ten days of being sentenced had his tongue cut out.[13] The medieval Sienese was most horrified of and angered by sodomy, fearing the unleashing of divine wrath against the community that permitted it. The sodomite, or procurer for a sodomite, who did not pay three hundred lire within a month of sentencing was, reads a statute, "to be hanged by his virile members in the principal market place, and there remain hanging . . . for an entire day."[14]

Communal authorities especially feared those acts of violence that could develop from a private fracas into a threat to the regime itself. Most troublesome were certain games that appealed so greatly to the Sienese that despite numerous prohibitions they were frequently played in the Campo, beneath the windows of the Communal Palace wherein resided the Nine and the podesta. Such games often began as simple fist fights, but progressed to the hurling of stones, the use of staves, spears, and knives, and rapidly degenerated into pitched battles. Yet they were so popular that on at least one occasion (1291) the City Council felt itself compelled to grant permission for "a game or battle of *elmora* in the Campo."[15]

The heated and confused combat could easily turn the games into an at-

[12] CG, N. 107, fols. 103v–108v (June 19, 1329); Biccherna, N. 162, fols. 104v–105r (Aug. 4, 1329).

[13] Podesta, Criminali, N. 17, fol. 5r (Aug. 4, 1336); cf. *Il costituto,* ed. Lisini, Dist. V, r. cclxvi.

[14] *Ibid.,* r. cclxxxvii, and the fragment of the Constitution of 1262, "Il frammento degli ultimi due libri del più antico Constituto Senese (1262–1270)," ed. Lodovico Zdekauer, *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria,* III (1896), Dist. V, r. ccxxxi, p. 86. See the City Council deliberation against sodomy of Sept. 13, 1324 (CG, N. 101, fols. 84v–91v, and Statuti, Siena, N. 23, fols. 116r–119v); and cf. Falletti-Fossati, *Costumi senesi,* 159. Cf. Umberto Dorini, *Il diritto penale e la delinquenza in Firenze nel secolo* XIV (Lucca, n. d. [1916]), 71–76, for Florentine antisodomy legislation.

[15] CG, N. 42, fols. 33v–34r, 35r (Oct. 15, 1291). On these games, see, e.g., Lodovico Zdekauer, *La vita privata dei senesi nel dugento* (Siena, 1896), 16–18; Ferdinand Schevill, *Siena* (London, 1909), 341–44.

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tack upon the palace itself, whenever the participants felt sufficiently aggrieved against the regime or when groups conspiring the government's overthrow engineered the shift from game to open rebellion. Thus in early February 1325 various conspirators (including powerful Tolomei nobles) plotted to turn a game of *pugna* into open rebellion. The Sienese government was indeed well served by two hundred gold florins that it paid at the end of that month "to a secret accuser who revealed to the war captain the treason, conspiracy, and plot that had been arranged against the office of the Lords Nine . . ." as recorded in a register of communal expenditures.[16]

Police were also directly involved in efforts to quell such outright rebellion and insurrection as that of early October 1311 to which its plotters had perhaps been emboldened by Henry of Luxemburg's victorious conclusion of the siege of Brescia, and hence the prospect that an imperial army swelled with Ghibelline exiles and warriors would soon pass temptingly close to Guelph Siena as the Emperor-elect journeyed southward to Rome and the imperial coronation.[17]

Prior to the regime's final collapse the only major rebellion that placed it in mortal danger was that of October 26, 1318. In a pitched battle in the Campo that took many lives, at least 269 mercenary infantry, 81 mercenary cavalry, and over 20 crossbowmen defended the government. Beside them, 84 of the 100 *birri,* or police, of the Nine and commune valiantly battled and later received generous rewards for their efforts.[18]

The manifold needs for law enforcement were as obvious to the medieval Sienese as they are to the modern historian, and the commune resorted to varied methods in efforts to provide such protection and to curb violence. Like other cities, Siena was subject to a strict curfew, and only such authorized persons as night guards, visiting physicians, and garbage collectors could appear on the streets at night without special permits. Others found outside their houses after the sound of the so-called "Third Bell" had rung two hours after sunset were subject to a fine of 20*s*., one such fine being

[16] Biccherna, N. 150, fol. 19v.

[17] For this conspiracy, see CG, N. 79, fols. 106r–108r (Oct. 4, 1311), 108v–112v (Oct. 15, 1311), 123v–124v and 126v–128v (Oct. 31, 1311); Statuti, Siena, N. 15, fols. 459r–462r (Oct. 15, 1311), including the provision (461r) that the names of witnesses against conspirators were not to be recorded in any official books and that any judge, notary, or other person revealing the name of such a witness was to be punished as a *falsarius*. And such punishment, according to a statute of 1292, was death by burning. (*Il costituto,* ed. Lisini, Dist. V, r. ccxcvi; for the imperial threat at this time, see William Bowsky, *Henry VII in Italy* [Lincoln, Nebr., 1960], 124–30.)

[18] Biccherna, N. 136, fols. 94v–96r (Oct. 30–31, 1318); cf. the slightly inaccurate account in the chronicle of Agnolo di Tura del Grasso, published in *Cronache senesi,* ed. Lisini and Iacometti, 372, in which the number of participants is slightly exaggerated; see also Anonymous Chronicle, *ibid.,* 171.

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collected from that lively Sienese poet and correspondent of Dante, Cecco Angiolieri.[19]

Another method of enforcement, already referred to, was reliance upon secret accusers who denounced to communal authorities those who they knew had violated specific laws. In return, an accuser's name was kept secret (much to the historian's annoyance), and he received one-fifth, one-fourth, or even one-half of the fine depending upon the offense, while the City Council granted even larger sums to those disclosing treason plots.[20]

The principal instrument of law enforcement, however, was the police. What then of the police force, or rather, forces?

Most police duties were entrusted to hired foreign policemen. Their sheer number in proportion to the size of the urban population strikes the historian. By the mid-1330's there was a foreign policeman for each 145 inhabitants of Siena, men, women, and children, lay and cleric, if the reader accepts my recent population estimates. (Reliance upon previous estimates would yield a ratio of about 1 policeman per 73 Sienese.[21])

For the sake of illustration and contrast only, we may note that in the midwestern city of Lincoln, Nebraska, with a population of about 135,000, there is 1 policeman per 1,000 inhabitants. New York City (not without its crime problem) has a ratio of approximately 1 to 285. These obviously are modern cities, with methods of communication and control unknown in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but the contrast remains striking.

More useful might be a comparison with a medieval Tuscan commune, but this problem has yet to engage the serious attention of historians. A ratio of 1 to 800 suggested for Florence during the first half of the fourteenth century is based on scanty research.[22] More important, it fails to reveal what may have been the significance of this disparity between Florentine and

[19] *Ministero dell' Interno. Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato,* XXIII, *Archivio di Stato di Siena. Le Sale della Mostra* (Rome, 1956), 120–21 and Tav. XXXV; for the curfew, see Falletti-Fossati, *Costumi senesi,* 186–87.

[20] See *Il constituto del comune di Siena dell'anno 1262,* ed. Lodovico Zdekauer (Milan, 1897), 444, *s.v.* Accusare; *Il costituto,* ed. Lisini, II, 559, *s.v.* Accusatore, Accusatori; and note 17, above.

[21] See William M. Bowsky, "The Impact of the Black Death upon Sienese Government and Society," *Speculum,* XXXIX (Jan. 1964), esp. 5–11.

[22] Dorini, *Il diritto penale,* 203–204, arrives at this ratio by postulating a population of 80,000 and a total police force averaging about 100 men (30–60 for the force of the podesta, 24 for the captain of the people, and 20 for the executor of justice). But this ignores the 60–100-man force that he himself notes for the signory, and its inclusion would yield a ratio of about 1:400, still considerably lower than that for Siena. For Dorini's Florentine population of 80,000 we should now substitute the more recent and accurate estimates of Enrico Fiumi: 95,000 in 1300, 90,000 in 1338, 76,000 in 1347, "Fioritura e decadenza dell'economia fiorentina," *Archivio storico italiano,* CXVI [1958], 465), or David Herlihy's estimate of 116,200 in the city of Florence in 1318. ("Population, Plague and Social Change in Rural Pistoia, 1201–1430," *Economic History Review,* Ser. II, XVIII [No. 2, 1965], 225–44, esp. 232.)

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Sienese police forces. Was there, for example, less need for police protection in the Arno city, were its organization and legislation more effective than that of Siena, or did the Sienese devote greater attention than their Florentine contemporaries to the problem of lawlessness and internal violence?

We should not speak of *the* police force. Even in the late thirteenth century the principal foreign magistrates in Siena, the podesta and the captain of the people, each had a group of police in the entourage or "family" that accompanied him into office and was paid by him from his own salary. Another police force served "the Nine and the Commune." Two new police forces were created during the following century: the police who formed a part of the "family" of the war captain—a new official whose office was regularized in the 1320's—and, in 1334, the *Quattrini,* particularly charged with the daytime custody of the city. This brought to five the number of foreign police forces.

The government was aware then of the need for police protection. It was also aware of inadequacies in the police system, and that system became the object of a mass of regular legislation. The regime experimented continuously with the size, organization, distribution, tours of duty, and jurisdictions of its police units.

The smallest force was that of the captain of the people: generally no more than 20 men in the late thirteenth century, 10 during the fourteenth.[23] Its size reflects accurately that magistrate's decreasing authority in all areas of activity. The podesta's police ranged from a high of 60 to a low of 20 men, and the number was set at 40 by statutes of the late 1330's.[24] The war captain's police, originally 50, were set at 100 by the same statutes,[25] again a good measure of that official's increasing importance. There was considerable experimentation with the force of the Nine and commune, but usually it was 90 or 100.[26] The *Quattrini* too were the object of experimentation: in-

[23] Dipl. Rif. N. 1114, July 19, 1291, 20 men; CG, N. 46, fol. 70r (Oct. 25, 1293), 6 men, N. 47, fol. 19r (Apr. 21, 1295), N. 83, fols. 20v–21r (Oct. 1313), N. 97, fol. 12r (Oct. 1322). In the major redaction of Sienese communal statutes of the late 1330's the size of the family of the captain of the people is not spelled out, but is left to the discretion of the electors of each new captain. (Statuti, Siena, N. 26, fol. 223v, Dist. IV, r. 159.)

[24] E.g., 1292, first half, 40 men (CG, N. 44, fols. 77r–78r); 1293, second half, 60 men (*ibid.*, N. 46, fols. 1r–3v); 1295, first half, 60 men (*ibid.*, N. 47, fols. 16r–17v); 1320, second half, 20 men (*ibid.*, N. 94, fol. 5r–v); 1322, first half, 32 men (*ibid.*, N. 96, fols. 3v–5v); 1322, second half, 35 men (*ibid.*, N. 97, fol. 5r); 1324, first half, 31 men (*ibid.*, N. 99, fols. 3r–4v [last listing in CG]; see Statuti, Siena, N. 26, fol. 18r, Dist. I, r. 49).

[25] See Biccherna, N. 145, fol. 147v, N. 146, fols. 22r, 48r, N. 147, fols. 114v, 134v, N. 149, fols. 111r, 125v, 165v; Statuti, Siena, N. 26, fol. 213r, Dist. IV, r. 87.

[26] The best indication of the size of this force is to be found in the records of payment in the Biccherna series. These show, for example, 90 men from the late 1290's through 1308 (e.g., Biccherna, N. 116, fol. 303r, N. 117, fol. 239v, N. 118, fol. 158v, N. 120, fol. 246r, N. 121, fol. 236r); 140 men, 1309–13 (e.g., *ibid.*, N. 122, fols. 106r, 138r, 191v, N. 123, fol. 186r, N. 124, fols. 174r, 229r, 259r, N. 125, fols. 66v, 116v, 155v, N. 126, fol. 81v); 100 men, 1314–15 (*ibid.*, N. 127, fols. 123v, 140r, 159v, 208v, N. 130, fols. 42r, 54v); fluctuations between 70,

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creased from 60 to 100 within months of their creation, 150 two years later, and then 100 from 1338 until the abandonment of the force.[27]

The jurisdictions of these forces ordinarily overlapped and were the object of constant legislative attention. To select only a few measures at random, provisions of 1299, 1300, and 1306 assigned night watch particularly to police of the podesta and of the captain of the people, while entrusting the podesta alone with supervision of the day watch.[28] An act of 1308 charged the podesta with both day and night watch, and for this purpose granted him the disposition of some of the police of the captain of the people and many of those of the Nine and commune in addition to his own.[29]

Provisions of 1334 for the custody of the city at night allocated a separate third of the area to the podesta, war captain, and captain of the people, but the first two could also investigate conditions in each of the remaining sections.[30] The war captain and the captain of the people each received the same authority as the podesta to have the city searched for persons bearing prohibited arms and to hear, define, and terminate their cases.[31] The *Quattrini* too sought all types of delinquents.[32] Another act of 1334 ordered all foreign officials, their families, and all mercenaries to pursue and seize male-

90, and 100 men, 1316–19 (*ibid.*, N. 134, fols. 85r, 123r, N. 135, fol. 69v, N. 139, fol. 108v); 100 men, 1320–mid-1325 (*ibid.*, N. 140, fol. 163v, N. 142, fol. 143r, N. 145, fol. 115v, N. 147, fol. 124v, N. 149, fols. 129r, 133r, N. 150, fols. 10r, 25r); 60 men, mid-1325–Dec. 1331 (*ibid.*, N. 154, fols. 7r, 19r, N. 155, fol. 10v, N. 157, fol. 3v, N. 162, fol. 106v, N. 165, fols. 2v, 43r, N. 167, fols. 3v, 32v, N. 168, fol. 138r, N. 171, fols. 9r, 20r; CG, N. 102, fols. 70r–71r [Oct. 8, 1325]); and 100 men, 1332–48 (e.g., Biccherna, N. 174, fols. 7r, 19v, N. 176, fol. 20v, N. 181, fol. 13v, N. 183, fol. 5r, N. 209, fol. 104v, N. 219, fol. 121r, N. 223, fol. 103v; CG, N. 143, fol. 28v [Oct. 21, 1348]). The 100 men were separated into a group of 60 and another of 40 from 1332 through 1341, and two groups of 50 men each, 1342–48. See *Il costituto*, ed. Lisini, Dist. I, r. dlxvi–dlxxviii, provisions of June 14, 1305, for the police of the Nine and commune.

[27] For the origin of the *Quattrini*, see Statuti, Siena, N. 11, fols. 371v–372r (May 1334), "De berovariis novis habendis super diurna custodia civitatis" (apostil, fol. 371v). These provisions enacted "pro honore et libertate et statu pacifico civitatis senarum melius conservandis et ut auferatur in totum malefactoribus materia delinquendi," ordered the Nine in office July–August 1334 to hire a captain with this new force of 60 "peditibus seu berovariis . . ." (fol. 371v). Cf. Agnolo di Tura, 513; although he wrongly ascribes the provisions to April and sets the number of *Quattrini* at 150. Other early provisions concerning the *Quattrini* are in Statuti, Siena, N. 23, fols. 439r–441v (Aug. 8, 1334), fols. 442r–443v (Sept. 18, 1334) raising the force to 100 men, fols. 444r–445r (Oct. 28, 1334), fol. 447r–v (Nov. 18, 1334); cf. Biccherna, N. 1, fols. 281r–283v (June 11, 1337). As is the case with the police of the Nine and commune, so the size and pay rates of the *Quattrini* can best be traced in the Biccherna records. For the *Quattrini* as 150 men, divided into 3 groups of 50 each in 1336 and into 6 groups of 25 each in 1337, see *ibid.*, N. 184, fols. 128v, 129r, N. 185, fol. 110r, N. 187, fols. 98v–99r. For the force of 100 men (99 *birri* and one captain), see, e. g., *ibid.*, N. 191, fol. 100v, N. 195, fol. 140v, N. 201, fol. 2r, N. 202, fol. 129r, N. 213, fol. 126v, N. 216, fol. 104v, N. 220, fol. 116r, N. 223, fol. 103v. No payments to *Quattrini* are recorded after 1348.

[28] Statuti, Siena, N. 15, fols. 5r–9r (Dec. 14, 1299), fols. 9v–10r (Dec. 15, 1306), fols. 79r–83r (Dec. 12, 1300).

[29] *Ibid.*, fols. 362r–369v, esp. 362r–365r (Dec. 18, 1308).

[30] *Ibid.*, N. 23, fol. 451r–v (Dec. 2, 1334).

[31] *Ibid.*, N. 11, fols. 373v–374r (May 1334).

[32] For the *Quattrini*, see esp. *ibid.*, N. 26, fols. 210v–213r, Dist. IV, r. 67–86, and note 27, above.

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factors and deliver them to the podesta—except that the war captain's men were to deliver their prisoners to him.[33]

Despite variations in size, composition, and jurisdiction, the foreign police forces had much in common, beginning with the overlapping jurisdiction itself. At the request of communal officials all forces were subject to official review in order to determine whether all were present, properly armed, and if any unauthorized substitutions had been made in personnel. Violators were fined. In addition to receiving regular salaries, foreign police capturing and delivering a prisoner who was either already wanted or was later convicted received a cash reward. But, while effective service was rewarded, policing was to be a full-time task. A provision for the *Quattrini,* for example, forbade them from engaging in any trade or manual labor in the city under the penalty of a fine of twenty-five lire, almost five months' salary.[34] And like foreign magistrates the police could not fraternize with the local populace. The nature of police duty too was the same for all forces: separated into groups of two or more men they patrolled assigned portions of the city. Common characteristics marked the hiring of these forces. The policemen were not hired separately; rather the commune contracted for six-month terms with their captains or with the foreign official in whose entourage they were included.

Nor did the police have any special police training prior to entering Sienese service or while in that service. They were, in fact, nothing but foot soldiers or infantry hired for police duty, and in many documents they are referred to interchangeably as *birri*—police—or as *fanti* or *pedites*—infantrymen.[35] Indeed it seems that the same type of men, at times even the same men, who served Siena as police at other times served Siena and other communes as mercenary infantry, even under the same captains. This phenomenon might be investigated by future historians of the origins and development of the *Compagnie di Ventura,* the Free or Mercenary Companies, and of the *condottieri* who attained such notoriety during the high Renaissance.

The government also took a strong and continuing interest in the type of men hired for police duty: all were hired (through their captains) by the commune's highest signory, the same signory that selected the podesta,

[33] Statuti, Siena, N. 11, fols. 375v–376v (May 1334), esp. 376r–v. The reason for the flurry of activity in 1334 is unclear, as this was a time of relative quiet both internally and externally. It may have been part of the then general effort to consolidate and improve communal practices and regulations and make the city a better place in which to live.

[34] *Ibid.,* N. 26, fol. 211r, Dist. IV, r. 69. The prohibition applied to "aliquam artem manualem . . . vel aliquid ministerium. . . ."

[35] See, e.g., note 27, above, and Biccherna, N. 136, fol. 95r, N. 149, fols. 129r, 133r, N. 174, fol. 7r, "fanti birivieri de signori Nove."

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captain of the people, and war captain. For the signory wanted more than skilled fighting men as police; police had to have the correct political persuasions. Statutes declared, for example, that the captains of the police of the Nine and commune were to be Guelph counts or barons, friends of the Church, and, especially, friends of the Sienese commune. They could not come from the Sienese state or from the cities of the podesta or captain of the people who would be in office at the same time, a wise precaution against the concentration of power in the hands of a single foreign official.[36] This concern for the political leanings of the police is readily understandable when we recall how crimes of violence could become a political menace, and that police forces composed of trained infantry functioned indiscriminately in both areas.

The same lack of distinction between military and police functions and the same emphasis upon political coloration are evident when we examine the few police activities performed by the inhabitants of Siena.

The commune called upon members of the companies of the city for night watch, companies that had resulted from a fusion of military companies and companies of the society of the people, analogous to the situation in Pisa.[37] Under the Nine the companies not only served in Siena's armies, but assisted in quelling fighting that involved the city's powerful noble families and in quashing major riots and rebellion. Their members swore to uphold the existing regime.

These companies supplied a pool of 600 men a month for night watch, with about 120 actually serving during any month.[38] After 1324 the commune remunerated the men of the companies for these services.[39] During the next decade this night watch was made directly responsible to the war captain (not, we may note, to the companies' traditional leader, the captain of the people).

[36] Statuti, Siena, N. 26, fol. 210r, Dist. IV, r. 65. See provisions "contra capitaneum berruariorum dominorum Noven et comunis Senarum et ipsos beruarios et super providendo de eorum salariis et lucris" ordered by the Nine, Oct. 2, 1317, on the basis of authority conceded them by the City Council, Sept. 30, 1317. (Biccherna, N. 1. fols. 176r–185v.)

[37] For Pisa, see Emilio Cristiani, *Nobiltà e popolo nel Comune di Pisa* (Naples, 1962), 95 n. 71. For the Sienese companies, see Giuseppe Canestrini, "Le compagnie del popolo di Siena e suo distretto," *Archivio storico italiano,* XV (1851), xviii–xix, 13–25; Romolo Caggese, "La Repubblica di Siena e il suo contado," *Bulletino Senese di Storia Patria,* XIII (1960), 93–102—in need of substantial revision on the basis of such evidence as Statuti, Siena, N. 26, fols. 184v–188v, Dist. III, r. 355–379, N. 4, fols. 398r–400r (May 5, 1299), N. 15, fols. 276r–278v (Feb. 21, 1306), N. 23, fols. 499r–500v (Jan. 20, 1337); Concistoro, N. 2, fols. 62v–67r (Dec. 22, 1347); Gabella, N. 19, fols. 59v–60v (Jan.–June 1334), N. 20, fols. 47v–48v (July–Dec. 1334); and portions of Capitano del Popolo, N. 1, not utilized by Caggese.

[38] Statuti, Siena, N. 26, fol. 214v, Dist. IV, r. 95, for the 600 men. The number of men actually in service is at times revealed by Biccherna records, e.g., Biccherna, N. 216, fol. 105r (Feb. 21, 1345), 118 men, N. 223, fol. 106v (Feb. 10, 1348), 122 men.

[39] Roberto Rocchigiani, "Urbanistica ed igiene negli statuti senesi del XIII e XIV secolo," *Studi Senesi,* LXX (1958), 392; cf. Statuti, Siena, N. 26, fol. 214v, Dist. IV, r. 95.

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Two members of each company selected by the Nine for a six-month term performed other police functions. Called *paciarii* or peace officials, they reported to high communal officials infractions of private peace agreements and acts of oppression and injuries that occurred among the members of their companies.[40] The remaining police function performed by Sienese was assigned for six-month terms to representatives of the *contrade* or *lire,* the city's administrative and tax districts. Each district had one official or *sindaco* salaried by the commune whose task it was to report to the podesta crimes and law violations that occurred within his district, under the penalty of heavy fines for the neglect of duty.[41] (And it is self-evident that the areas allotted to the military companies with their *paciarii* overlapped and duplicated the *lire* with their *sindaci.*)

We have seen something of how the communal authorities conceived of and dealt with the problems of internal violence, police power, and public safety. But how effective were their measures? It should be noted at once that the state was cognizant of some of the limitations upon its ability to secure and maintain internal peace and order. There are numerous indications of this awareness.

Like Florence, its more powerful northern neighbor, Siena still recognized the legality of the vendetta. Lacking the strength to eliminate the vendetta, the government concentrated upon limiting its application and narrowing the circle of persons who could practice it and against whom it could be waged. A timorous attempt of May 1306 to isolate the actual offender by forcing his relatives to renounce the possibility of protecting him with a vendetta against possible avengers served only to demonstrate the commune's weakness: the measure was not retroactive, and it exempted those most likely to become involved—the culprit's father, sons, and blood brothers.[42]

More serious was the continued recognition in public law of the so-called "instrument of peace" (*instrumentum pacis*)—a notarized document secured by an offender from an injured person (or his heirs), granting that offender peace and thus eliminating the possibility of a legal vendetta. An

[40] *Ibid.,* fol. 195r–v, Dist. IV, r. 410. The *paciarii* of the Sienese companies should not be confused with the Florentine *paciarii,* a handful of officials selected by the commune and empowered with making and imposing truces and peaces. (Anna Maria Enriques, "La vendetta nella vita e nella legislazione fiorentina," *Archivio storico italiano,* XCI [1933], 127, n. 1, 192, n. 1; Marvin Becker, "A Study in Political Failure. The Florentine Magnates: 1280–1343," *Mediaeval Studies,* XXVII [1965], 275 n. 62.)

[41] Fragment of the Constitution of 1262, Dist. V, r. 288, *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria,* V (1898), 217; *Il costituto,* ed. Lisini, Dist. V, r. cccxxxvii. Podesta, Criminali, N. 17 (July 13–Dec. 28, 1336) notes on fol. 2v a fine of 100s. against a *sindaco* who had failed to report an insult and beating.

[42] *Il costituto,* ed. Lisini, Dist. V, r. lii; see also *Il constituto,* ed. Zdekauer, lv–lvi; *Il costituto,* ed. Lisini, Dist. V, r. cccvii, cdvii. For the vendetta in Florence, see Enriques, "La vendetta," 85–146, 181–223; Dorini, *Il diritto penale,* 185–200.

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instrument of peace was necessary before one convicted of a crime of violence could be freed at a religious festival[43] or take advantage of special or general amnesties or compositions.[44] So important was this document that the state dropped all criminal action if a defendant could produce such a peace document even during the course of a trial.[45] Here, in effect, a public crime was reduced to the status of a private concern. (Nor was it a major advance in public law when in 1350, in order to prevent the state from being deprived of its fine by collusion between offender and offended, it was ordered that henceforth even those producing peace instruments would not be given peace by the commune until they paid 5 per cent of the fine for the crime of which they had been accused.[46]) While one may wish to interpret this attachment to the peace instrument as a desire to reinforce the commune's decisions with private agreement, it seems rather to be a confession of the state's inability to confer complete protection upon those who committed acts of violence.

The general amnesties, compositions, and commutations of sentences were themselves more than a device for filling communal coffers or for fulfilling some idea of justice; they were also an indication of the commune's recognition of its inability to capture and confine all lawbreakers. Many benefiting from such acts had never been captured. I have been able to discover no less than ten general amnesties and compositions enacted from 1302 to 1354, and they benefited well over five thousand persons from the city and *contado,* perhaps even double that number.[47] Other individuals gained the same advantages as a result of private bills passed by the City Council.[48]

[43] See, e. g., CG, N. 52, fol. 53v (Aug. 14, 1297); cf. for Florence, Enriques, "La vendetta," 219.

[44] Giuliana Cantucci, " 'Ordinamenta Scomputi' in margine alla legislazione statutaria senese in materia penale," *Studi Senesi,* LXVIII–LXIX (1956–57), 502–504; Statuti, Siena, N. 15, fols. 171r (Aug. 7, 1302), 334r (Oct. 13, 1307). Some analogous Florentine measures made special provision for persons lacking peace instruments. (Enriques, "La vendetta," 215–17, 221.)

[45] See esp. Podesta, Criminali, N. 10, fol. 46r (July 1305).

[46] CG, N. 147, fol. 23v (Oct. 22, 1350).

[47] For these measures and persons benefiting from some of them, see Aug. 7, 1302, Statuti, Siena, N. 15, fols. 171r–173v, 234r–238v, 184r–186v (minor changes of Nov. 11, 1302); Biccherna, N. 117, fols. 66r, 78v, 84r, 85v, 87r–88v, 98v, 110v, 118v. Apr. 16, 1303, CG, N. 62, fols. 107v–113v, N. 63, fols. 64r–71v (Aug. 17, 1303), an extension to Oct. 1, 1303. Oct. 13, 1307, Statuti, Siena, N. 15, fols. 334r–338r. Mar. 12, 1312, CG, N. 80, fols. 93r–94v (extension of a missing measure). Apr.–July 1321, Biccherna, N. 731, contains 846 names and petitions of persons from the city and *contado,* and a few *contado* towns, benefiting from a composition. Jan. 15, 1329, Anonymous Chronicle, *Cronache senesi,* ed. Lisini and Iacometti, 138; Biccherna, N. 160, fols. 134v–137r, 138v, 154r. *Ibid.,* N. 732 (Feb. 7–June 23, 1329), contains the action taken on over six hundred petitions for this composition. Jan. 18, 1339, Bowsky, "Impact of the Black Death," 12 n. 64. Aug. 28, 1342, CG, N. 131, fols. 37v–38v. Jan. 22, 1349, Bowsky, "Impact of the Black Death," 22. Agnolo di Tura del Grasso, 561, claims that more than one thousand persons benefited from this measure. Apr. 23, 1354, Cantucci, " 'Ordinamenta Scomputi,' " 492–516; Biccherna, N. 232, fols. 93r–126r, N. 234, fols. 85r–88r, N. 734, fols. 1r–73r.

[48] See, e. g., CG, N. 73, fols. 109r–113r (Aug. 28, 1308), N. 84, fols. 43r–46r (July 30, 1314), fols. 46v–49v (Aug. 1, 1313), N. 107, fols. 110v–117v (June 30, 1329); Biccherna, N. 127, fol. 18r (July 31, 1314), N. 170, fol. 86v (Oct. 30, 1331).

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The effectiveness of law enforcement against some of the greatest offenders, members of powerful, wealthy, and numerous noble *consorterie* or family federations seems particularly imperfect when we find that some nobles who benefited from general amnesty legislation were freed of four or more death sentences, each imposed for a different offense. Most impressive is the case of Messer Deo di Messer Guccio Guelfo Tolomei, acknowledged leader of the Tolomei *consorteria.* A leader of the rebellion of October 26, 1318, he had fled the city, captured the *contado* castle of Menzano in 1320, yielding it only when the war captain threatened to execute four innocent Tolomei, and in 1322 and 1323 played as much the role of the leader of a Free Company as that of a Sienese rebel as he ravaged the Sienese Valdichiana and Valdorcia with a large company that included Aretines and mercenaries in Florentine pay. He nonetheless benefited from a general act of 1339 and purchased the cancellation of five separate death sentences at the bargain rate of a thousand gold florins, for the price was the same regardless of the number of death sentences canceled.[49] While such cases are rare, their very existence is significant.

On several occasions, when many members of some of the greatest noble *consorterie* engaged in acts of violence, rather than rely upon normal police legislation, Siena, like other communes, resorted to persuading them to conclude private truces. Those truces then received official government sanction, and violators were threatened with the severest penalties. The Nine forced the conclusion of such truces several times during the prolonged enmity between the Tolomei and the Salimbeni, and at least once during a Malavolti-Piccolomini dispute.[50]

Following the precedent established by earlier regimes, tht Nine licensed the possession of arms in the city through the sale of arms permits, though it limited these to the less dangerous weapons. Nonetheless they could not prevent men from appearing in public prepared for violence, and at any time well over a hundred men possessed such permits. While the government tried to restrict the area of the city where one could appear so armed, and this during the daytime only, it is alarming that, by the mid-1330's, eligibility for such permits had been extended even to foreigners.[51]

[49] *Ibid.*, N. 200, fols. 19r, 44v, 57r, 88r (Deo Tolomei), 100r; for Deo Tolomei's activities, see, e. g., Agnolo di Tura del Grasso, 272, 380–81, 399–400.

[50] See, e. g., Giovanni Cecchini, *La pacificazione fra Tolomei e Salimbeni* (Siena, 1942); CG, N. 138, fol. 37r–v (May 15, 1346), N. 139, fols. 43r–44v (Nov. 25, 1346), N. 140, fols. 14v–16v (Feb. 9, 1347), Piccolomini-Malavolti.

[51] See, e. g., the fragment of the Constitution of 1262, ed. Lodovico Zdekauer, Dist. V, r. 1–5, *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria,* I (1894), 141–42; *Il costituto,* ed. Lisini, Dist. V, r. ccclv and Vol. II, 227–235; CG, N. 123, fols. 19r–24v (Aug. 21, 1338); Statuti, Siena, N. 11, fols. 369r, 371r (May 1334). Biccherna volumes at times list persons who had paid for arms

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And we need scarcely emphasize that the existence of this system of arms permits was not justified by such reasoning as that which underlies our own Bill of Rights; it was rather an admission by the Sienese government of its inability to provide absolute protection for all of its subjects and to prevent them completely from exercising their more violent proclivities.

But while the commune could not completely control all of its subjects' violent tendencies, it could and did resist attempted intrusions into its jurisdiction. Thus in 1307 and 1311 it engaged in major disputes with the inquisitor in Tuscany, the Franciscan Phillip of Lucca, who claimed the right to issue arms permits to persons not in his regular retinue, even to private Sienese citizens.[52]

The recognized imperfections of the Sienese police system should not, however, be viewed against a backdrop of absolute perfection—a standard not attained by any human society. Nor should we forget that the communal prisons were always well tenanted; that even members of the greatest noble families such as the Piccolomini, and of families represented on the Nine, ended with the hangman and at the executioner's block;[53] and that the commune did, in fact, destroy houses and palaces of convicted criminals of the highest station, including Tolomei.[54]

The onslaught of the Black Death in 1348 seems to mark a watershed. The plague struck Siena with exceptional severity, and the disorder and confusion that it left in its wake combined with a lack of available police to make the problem of police protection even more difficult and to strain the commune's every ability.[55]

Already in the years immediately preceding the plague, marauding Free Companies had attacked the Sienese state. In 1342 the "Great Company" of Werner von Urslingen, self-styled "Enemy of God, of Piety, and of Mercy," visited it and could even embarrass the government by waylaying a war captain and his judge but a few miles from the city walls as they came to

permits. (See, e. g., Biccherna, N. 104 [Jan.–June 1291], fols. 4r–6v, which lists about 140 individuals.) The fee for a permit to bear so-called defensive arms was set at two florins a year for citizens in June 1312 and reduced to one florin in May 1324. (*Ibid.*, N. 1, fol. 151r–v.)

[52] CG, N. 71, fols. 70v–74v (July 15, 1307), 144r–146v (Nov. 23, 1307), 147r–149v (Nov. 27, 1307), N. 79, fols. 155r–157v (Dec. 13, 1311). See N. Mengozzi, *Il Feudo del Vescovado di Siena* (Siena, 1911), 36–41, for the episode of 1307.

[53] See, e. g., Biccherna, N. 194, fol. 32v (May 5, 1338), and Agnolo di Tura del Grasso, 521, for the execution of Giovanni di Cinello Piccolomini. Agnolo, 518, reports the hanging of one Corbaccino di Nanno Corbacci at the order of the podesta; this is confirmed by Biccherna, N. 191, fol. 99r (Mar. 6, 1338). Nanno Corbacci, a wool manufacturer of considerable means, served on the Nine, July–August 1316 (Concistoro, N. 2546, p. 24), and owned several houses in Siena (worth L. 725) and *contado* properties worth over L. 3,000 (Estimo, N. 133, fols. 26r–27v).

[54] See, e. g., Biccherna, N. 133, fol. 110v (Feb. 26, 1317), N. 150, fol. 26r (Mar. 11, 1325), Tolomei.

[55] See Bowsky, "Impact of the Black Death," 1–34.

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take office, robbing them of cash, lawbooks, armor, and silver vases worth at least five hundred gold florins.[56] But such problems were dwarfed by the burning, murder, rapine, and extortion of the famous Fra Moriale during the summer of 1354. And before Siena bought him off with over thirteen thousand gold florins it even suffered the humiliation of paying him damages for horses killed by Sienese who had resisted him![57]

It comes as no surprise that the city itself was not immune from the increased violence of the postplague years. In 1350 the City Council lamented that there was a great increase in the number of crimes of violence, including bloodshed, brawling, and homicide, being committed within the city, and that criminals now acted with "ever-growing impunity" as it was simple for them to flee the city and evade capture.[58] The commune's continued inability to cope with the deteriorating situation led it in 1352 to create a new "official for the custody of the city," complete with notary and family, to share the podesta's powers for guarding the city. A Ser Nuto of Città di Castello held the new office for a two-month term, but, as he accomplished little or nothing, the experiment was quickly abandoned.[59]

During 1313 and 1314 the commune had imposed a truce on all citizens having mortal hatreds or enmities, allegedly because the commune was threatened with foreign invasion.[60] The same reason was alleged for a similar measure in 1351, but, although it was extended to 1353 and its implementation assigned to the powerful war captain, it had little or no effect.[61] And would the government have waited thirty-seven years to repeat such a device if it had originally been successful? There had certainly been sufficient threats of foreign invasion upon which to draw for justification: the advent of the Emperor Louis the Bavarian and the incursions of Pisa, to name but two. The truce of 1351 seems at least as much a measure of desperation as of inspiration.

Public safety was further jeopardized in these dangerous postplague

[56] For the robbery, see CG, N. 131, fols. 86r–87r (Nov. 30, 1342). According to Agnolo di Tura del Grasso, 534, the government of the Nine paid Werner 2,852 florins to leave the Sienese state. (Cf. Biccherna, N. 212, fol. 210r–v, payments of L. 107/6/0 to seven *contado* communes for the service of 67 infantry "al tempo de la grande compagnia.")

[57] For Siena and Fra Moriale, see, e. g., Alfonso Professione, *Siena e le compagnie di ventura nella seconda metà del secolo* XIV (Civitanova Marche, 1898), 18–20; Bowsky, "Impact of the Black Death," 5, 21. For the payment of 200 florins for the horses, Aug. 28, 1354, see Biccherna, N. 234, fol. 103r.

[58] CG, N. 147, fols. 15r–16r (Sept. 15, 1350).

[59] *Ibid.*, N. 150, fols. 41r–42r (June 12, 1352).

[60] *Ibid.*, N. 82, fols. 80r–83v (Feb. 13, 1313), N. 83, fols. 83r–86r (Feb. 25, 1314).

[61] *Ibid.*, N. 149, fols. 19v–20v (Aug. 22, 1351), a truce ordered "Cum pro tuenda libertate statuque pacifico et tranquillo Comunis et populi Civitatis senarum a novitatibus in partibus Tuscie nunc paratis, immo iam fieri iam inceptis, opporteat esse cives dicte Civitatis unanime et concordes" (fol. 19v). See also *ibid.*, fols. 44r–48r (Dec. 9, 1351), N. 152, fols. 10v–12v (Feb. 25, 1353).

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years by the abandonment of the force of *Quattrini* and by the reduction of the police of the Nine and commune from one hundred to eighty men—men retained, however, at increased wages owing to the lack of reliable, trained mercenary infantry for hire.[62]

The atmosphere of increased violence, and the commune's decreased facilities for coping with it, was but one factor that contributed to the success of the rebellion that finally overthrew the regime of the Nine in 1355, but it should not be overlooked.

Throughout the history of the Nine, police power and public safety were major concerns to the highest communal authorities. Aware of the dangers of uncontrolled internal violence, they evolved a vast and complex body of police legislation and continually sought new approaches and solutions with admirable inventiveness and persistence. Even while admitting some of the commune's limitations they staunchly defended its right of sole police jurisdiction.

Before the plague the problem of crime control and police protection was generally kept within manageable limits, with a few striking, but temporary, exceptions. But during the postplague years immediately preceding the fall of the Nine the situation got increasingly out of hand.

Part of the difficulty was the tendency of all elements of society to resort to violence upon what we would consider insufficient provocation, and the persistence of the belief that personal vendetta was superior to recourse to public authority for the redress of private grievances of personal insult or injury. These factors alone necessitated a numerous police force.

But was not the problem of maintaining public safety increased by the existence of several police forces having overlapping and conflicting jurisdictions? These could lead to neglect of duty or to bitter distrust, suspicion, and rivalry in the competition for the rewards of successful captures. Perhaps, too, the failure to distinguish between violence wreaked by one citizen upon another and attacks upon the regime in power, between ordinary police functions and the need to defend the government militarily against violent overthrow, hindered further sophistication of police work.

Granted these complexities and the lack of modern means of communication and specialized police training, the system long functioned well. Its study offers insights into the nature and role of internal violence, and, in part, its relation to other aspects of life. Together with numerous analyses for other cities, it should provide material for a much-needed study of internal violence in the medieval and early Renaissance city-state.

[62] *Ibid.*, N. 144, fol. 35v (Apr. 27, 1349), concerning the police of the Nine and commune. For the *Quattrini*, see note 27, above.

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Puritanism, Capitalism, Democracy, and the New Science

Leo F. Solt*

ANYONE who has been reading the recent issues of *Past and Present* is aware of the controversy between the master of Balliol College, Christopher Hill, and other scholars of the seventeenth century regarding the relationship between Puritanism and the new science.[1] In fact, two years ago Hill published his Ford Lectures on the *Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution* (Oxford, Eng., 1965), partly in order to establish this relationship. Three years ago he published a volume entitled *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (New York, 1964), which was designed to show, among other things, the connection between Puritanism and capitalism through the role of that group of people in English society known as "the industrious sort." We may yet expect a volume on Puritanism and democracy even though the Levellers, the historians' showcase for seventeenth-century democracy, did *not* believe in manhood suffrage.[2] All three connections, despite strong demurrers, have found entrenched positions in the canon of historical literature.[3] These connections, whether characterized by a causal nexus, mere congeniality, or an indirect or unintended association, help so admirably in making a smooth transition from

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[1] Christopher Hill, "William Harvey and the Idea of Monarchy," *Past and Present*, No. 27 (Apr. 1964), 54–72; H. F. Kearney, "Puritanism, Capitalism and the Scientific Revolution," *ibid.*, No. 28 (July 1964), 81–101; Christopher Hill, "Debate: Puritanism, Capitalism and the Scientific Revolution," *ibid.*, No. 29 (Dec. 1964), 88–97; Gweneth Whitteridge, "William Harvey: A Royalist and No Parliamentarian," *ibid.*, No. 30 (Apr. 1965), 104–109; Christopher Hill, "Science, Religion and Society in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *ibid.*, No. 31 (July 1965), 97–103; H. F. Kearney, "Puritanism and Science: Problems of Definition," *ibid.*, 104–10; Theodore K. Rabb, "Religion and the Rise of Modern Science," *ibid.*, 111–26; Christopher Hill, "Science, Religion and Society in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *ibid.*, No. 32 (Dec. 1965), 110–12; Theodore K. Rabb, "Science, Religion and Society in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *ibid.*, No. 33 (Apr. 1966), 148.

[2] C. B. MacPherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism, Hobbes to Locke* (Oxford, Eng., 1962), Chap. III. To be sure, Hill has given some indications of an ambivalent attitude toward Puritanism and democracy in *The Century of Revolution, 1603–1714* (Edinburgh, 1961), Chap. X.

[3] "It is by now almost a commonplace of writers on social history to identify Puritanism with Protestantism, Protestantism with individualism, individualism with the experimental spirit, and the whole lot with aggressive competition in economic life But an individual

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the medieval to the modern period of English history that anyone who challenges one of them, as did Hugh F. Kearney, runs the risk of being branded with the letters "H. N."—Historical Nihilist,[4] that is, one who considers the thought of individual men as though it "existed" in self-contained compartments unrelated to each other.

In a vastly oversimplified form the historians' case for the connections between Puritanism, capitalism, democracy, and science runs something like this. Puritanism rejected the traditional authority and hierarchy of the Church in either its Roman or Anglican forms. This rejection opened the door for a rampant individualism, derived from the Bible, and a true equality of the Saints based upon the priesthood of all believers. While turning their backs upon Aristotle, medieval Scholasticism, and Christian humanism, which stressed faith and speculative reason, the Puritans, who placed their emphasis almost exclusively on faith, were characterized by the kind of utilitarian outlook to be found in the writings of Francis Bacon. Such an outlook made their views attractive to merchants and artisans who, through an ethic of industry and frugality, were interested in growing rich through technological improvements, to scientists who, through a conviction that God's glory was revealed in nature, were more interested in advancing a useful technology based upon sense perception than in advancing knowledge through mathematical abstractions, and to politicians who, through their antiauthoritarian views, were interested in promoting freedom and equality based upon religious experiences as individuals and in congregations. In order to challenge the Establishment of their day, the Puritans found it necessary to separate grace from nature. In politics this meant religious freedom through a separation of church and state; in economics it meant classical liberalism through a policy of freedom from state regulation; in science it meant the freedom of the natural world from divine intervention. But the separation of grace and nature did not prevent analogies from being drawn between the two spheres. The church covenant led to the social contract and the business contract; the equality of believers in Christ to the equality of men as political animals and as researchers; the emphasis on a personal religious experience to experiments in science and statecraft; the determinism of God's eternal decrees to the mechanical determinism of Newtonian science and Adam Smith's market place. All of this is suffused with an eighteenth-century optimistic belief in progress and the perfecti-

may be connoted by any of these attitudes and activities without necessarily sharing in all or any of the others." (Kathleen Nott, *The Emperor's Clothes* [Bloomington, Ind., 1958], 182, 174.)

[4] Hill, "Debate," 96–97.

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bility of man, which grew out of the progressive revelation of the Holy Spirit in the millennialism of the Puritan sects.

I do not propose to argue all the facets of each of these three connections. That would require three separate books rather than a short article. Nor am I primarily concerned with the kind of evidence that builds a case for *one* of the connections with such statements as Francis Bacon's mother was a Puritan or Benjamin Franklin's father was a Calvinist. Nor am I primarily interested in the kind of proposition that tends to divide all Englishmen into two opposing camps, no matter what the walk of life, with such statements as the Civil War was fought between "Parliamentarian heliocentrists and Royalist Ptolemaics."[5] What I would like to do, briefly, is to examine in the light of recent research some of those aspects of Puritanism that have been used to establish any two, and in some cases all three, of these connections. My purpose is to see whether Puritan doctrine and discipline led toward the Age of Enlightenment and beyond or backward to medieval times.

It has been argued that Protestantism gives greater encouragement to individual initiative and individual responsibility than does Catholicism or, for that matter, Anglicanism. From a doctrinal point of view, it is contended that the Protestant "concept of faith and salvation is one of subjective individual experience, in which all responsibility is with the individual and none with an authority which could give him what he cannot obtain himself."[6] Actually, both Roman Catholicism and Arminian Anglicanism assert individual responsibility by their insistence upon man's good works, in addition to faith, in the salvation process. But Lutheranism and Calvinistic Puritanism annihilated "the individual self as the essential condition" of salvation either by a reliance solely upon God's saving grace or upon God's arbitrary and immutable decrees of predestination and election.[7] This extreme emphasis upon the sovereignty of God disposed obedient Puritans to accept authority in politics, science, or business that had its sanction from above, not from below.[8]

It is difficult to find instances of Puritans who held to the Calvinistic views of election and predestination and at the same time manifested radical

[5] *Id.*, "Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution—II: Emergence of the Scientific Method," *The Listener*, June 7, 1962, 985.

[6] Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom* (Avon Book ed., New York, 1965), 93.

[7] *Ibid.*, 100.

[8] Ralph Barton Perry, *Puritanism and Democracy* (New York, 1944). Of course, there is in Calvin's thought, and in that of such Marian exiles as John Knox, Christopher Goodman, and others, a safety valve against tyranny. The lesser magistrate was justified by Calvin in following the axiom: disobedience to tyrants is obedience to God. It is interesting to note, however, apart from its use in Catholic thought, that very few Puritans invoked this axiom from the 1560's to the early 1640's.

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political views. An exception, of course, is Roger Williams, who subscribed to Calvinist theology at the same time that he wrote about political democracy. The connections between Williams' theology and politics are practically nonexistent, especially since he thought of the spheres of grace and nature as completely separate.[9] With the possible exception of John Lilburne, most of the Levellers about whom we have information, notably William Walwyn and Richard Overton, did not believe in Calvinist theology, preferring instead doctrines that provided room for man's rational faculties.[10] Even Richard Baxter's covenant theology, which, according to Hill, finds room for individual effort, operated within the framework of Calvinist theocracy in which only the godly would rule in either church or state.[11] And John Milton, the great exponent of the freedom of the press and defender of the people's rights against the king, was closer to Arminian theology, which tended to recognize man's free choice, than he was to Calvinist theology. But Milton's Commonwealth of Saints was not alien to the regulation of public and private morality carried on by the ancient Areopagus.[12]

The nonrational or anti-intellectual features of Calvinist theology found little expression among the new scientists.[13] Such scientists as William Harvey, Robert Boyle, John Wilkins, and Seth Ward were latitudinarian in their religious views, tending to gravitate toward the position of the Cambridge Platonists who reacted strongly against the Puritan doctrines of predestination and election. No less than five of the members of the Wadham College group at Oxford in the 1650's, the precursor of the Royal Society, became Anglican bishops at the Restoration. Wilkins and Ward, both of whom became bishops, defended the role of reason in religion rather than the "enthusiasm" or revelations of the Holy Spirit that were so characteristic of the Puritan sects. It was from a base of natural theology that

[9] See Mauro Calamandrei, "Neglected Aspects of Roger Williams' Thought," *Church History*, XXI (Sept. 1952), 239–58.

[10] On Walwyn and Overton, see D. B. Robertson, *The Religious Foundations of Leveller Democracy* (New York, 1951), 97–104.

[11] Hill, *Intellectual Origins*, 291; *Richard Baxter and Puritan Politics*, ed. Richard Schlatter (New Brunswick, N.J., 1957), 37.

[12] John Illo, "The Misreading of Milton," *Columbia University Forum*, VIII (Summer 1965), 38–42.

[13] For a different view, see Hiram Haydn, *The Counter Renaissance* (Grove Press ed., New York, 1960). Writing of the Counter Renaissance, Haydn says, "yet, in its many manifestations, there is a constant—the revolt against complicated theory, against the isolated cerebral process, against the pretense of the intellect, against primarily rational argument and demonstration, against the sophistications of learning, of culture, of the traditional arts and sciences. From these the scientists of the Counter Renaissance turned to a radical empiricism; the religionists to non-rational theology" (p. 117). Robert K. Merton, however, wrote that the exaltation of reason in Puritan theology "led to a sympathetic attitude toward those activities which demand the constant application of rigorous reasoning." ("Puritanism, Pietism, and Science," *Sociological Review*, XXVIII [Jan. 1936], 8.)

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Boyle looked upon natural science as a means to study the way in which God was revealed in the universe.[14]

The connection between Calvinist theology and the capitalist spirit has received a more sophisticated analysis. As Max Weber brilliantly pointed out about sixty years ago, the anxious Puritan, seeking the certainty that he was one of the elect, performed good works in a particular vocation as a sign, though not a cause, of his election. This did not mean, as Weber erroneously contended, "that God helps those who help themselves";[15] instead it "served only as a means of forecasting the predetermined fate."[16] Although an energizing Protestant ethic of work emerges from Weber's doctrine of the calling, this activism was not characterized by an "irrational impulse toward acquisition" commonly ascribed to modern capitalism.[17] Even in that post-Restoration passage in the writings of the Puritan Richard Baxter that both Weber and R. H. Tawney cited as a prime instance that Puritanism sanctified the pursuit of riches, there is a very important qualification: to do no wrong to your own soul or to that of any other.[18] "It is impossible to argue that Protestantism in any way encouraged a profit system," wrote Charles and Katherine George, "when the massive, uniform bulk of sermon and tractate literature equated any desire for profit with covetousness."[19] Furthermore, as Wilbur K. Jordan has discovered, the Puritans, who traditionally denounced rogues and vagabonds, were committed to charitable activity in behalf of the worthy poor.[20] Such philanthropic efforts under the stewardship of the Puritans reflect a concept of social welfare or social obligation as a moral duty characteristic of collectivist rather than the profit seeking of capitalist societies.[21]

[14] Theodore K. Rabb, "Puritanism and the Rise of Experimental Science in England," *Journal of World History,* VII (No. 1, 1962), 63; Kearney, "Puritanism, Capitalism, and the Scientific Revolution," 95, 97.

[15] Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,* tr. Talcott Parsons (Scribner Library ed., New York, 1958), 115.

[16] Fromm, *Escape from Freedom,* 113.

[17] Weber, *Protestant Ethic,* 17.

[18] "If God show you a way in which you may lawfully get more than in another way (without wrong to your soul or to any other), if you refuse this, and choose the less gainful way, you cross one of the ends of your calling, and you refuse to be God's steward." (Weber, *Protestant Ethic,* 162; R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* [Mentor Books ed., New York, 1948], 202.) The qualification is analyzed by Winthrop Hudson, "Puritanism and the Spirit of Capitalism," *Church History,* XVIII (Mar. 1949), 3–17. It may well be that some Nonconformists turned to business as a means of livelihood after the Restoration because the professions and political offices were cut off for them owing to the Clarendon Code and the Test Acts.

[19] Charles and Katherine George, *The Protestant Mind of the English Reformation, 1570–1640* (Princeton, N.J., 1961), 172; see also Edmund S. Morgan, "The Puritan Ethic and the American Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly,* XXIV (Jan. 1967), 4–6.

[20] Wilbur K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England, 1480–1660: A Study of the Changing Pattern of English Social Aspirations* (London, 1959), 198–202.

[21] This is contrary to Tawney who wrote: "The distinctive note of Puritan teaching was individual responsibility, not social obligation." (*Religion and the Rise of Capitalism,*

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Ironically, it is this very emphasis on social welfare that Richard F. Jones and Robert K. Merton have used as one of the bases for an affinity between Puritanism and science. It is part of the Jones-Merton thesis that the Puritans embraced the empirical views of Francis Bacon not because of his advocacy of the advancement of learning as an imaginative enterprise in itself but because of his advocacy of the advancement of learning for its utilitarian value—and the Puritans interpreted utility in terms of "public good."[22] Hence, the argument continues, the profit-minded Puritans, as merchants and craftsmen, were the same inventive-minded Puritans who were interested in the practical sciences of land surveying, navigation, and metallurgy.[23] Now there is little doubt that many Puritans and Bacon alike opposed the tradition of Scholasticism in the English universities. It is not surprising, therefore, that John Pym and his Puritan supporters invited to England John Comenius, a man trained in the anti-Aristotelian tradition of Peter Ramus. Comenius and two other foreigners, Samuel Hartlib and John Dury, were professed Baconians who devoted their lives to a curious combination of interests in millennialism, ecumenicism, and educational reform.[24] These men were not concerned with speculative thought per se, and Comenius, to single out but one of them, was anti-Copernican in outlook. Most of the scientists of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, according to Kearney, were not artisans or merchants and seem to have regarded science as "an imaginative rather than a practical activity, something carried on for its own sake, not for merely utilitarian ends."[25] Such views, indeed, were those of the Wadham College group, which was mostly made up of mathematicians. This was the age, as James Carroll points out, of the "glorious birth and fruition of mathematics—abstract science."[26]

There is some evidence that an occasional Puritan sectary, stemming from Antinomian theology, did praise the arts and sciences. R. Hookyaas tells us that John Webster, a former New Model Army chaplain, praised

226.) The Georges, however, say that "the Protestants have a kind of welfare-state approach to charity." (*Protestant Mind,* 156.)

[22] Richard F. Jones, *Ancients and Moderns: A Study of the Background of the Battle of the Books* (St. Louis, 1936), 115–17; Robert K. Merton, "Science, Technology, and Society in Seventeenth Century England," *Osiris,* IV (1938), 431–32.

[23] Paul H. Kocher, *Science and Religion in Elizabethan England* (San Marino, Calif., 1953), 19.

[24] Hugh R. Trevor-Roper, "Three Foreigners," *Encounter,* No. 77 (Feb. 1960), 3–20. Comenius was active in Boyle's "Invisible College" of the 1640's, a group that has been regarded as a precursor of the Royal Society. In a new book Margery Purver concludes that "Hartlib and his associates did not foreshadow the purpose of the Royal Society." (*The Royal Society: Concept and Creation* [London, 1967], 205.)

[25] Kearney, "Puritanism, Capitalism, and the Scientific Revolution," 94.

[26] James W. Carroll, "Merton's Thesis on English Science," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology,* XIII (July 1954), 428.

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the experimental "science of facts" above the old "speculative science of notions and words";[27] George Rosen shows that Gerrard Winstanley, the Digger, gave stress in his utopia to knowledge based on experiment and observation.[28] Richard Schlatter says that William Dell, another former New Model Army chaplain, even wrote that "mathematics especially are to be had in good esteem in universities" because it is "very useful to human society."[29] The interesting thing to note here is that these are radical Puritans, not the moderate Puritans who, according to Dorothy Stimson, made such an important contribution to the Royal Society.[30] But these words of praise for science from the Antinomian sectaries are incidental to their primary concern of attacking learning in any form as a prerequisite for the ministry.[31] As Antinomian sectaries they were carrying the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith to its logical anti-intellectual conclusion: that no human helps, not even learning, would aid in achieving salvation.[32] Apart from these Antinomian sectaries, Puritan tractate literature has little to say about science in any form. Nor do the educational reforms of the Commonwealth period suggest a strong interest by Cromwell or the Independent Puritans in science. Both the new University of Durham and plans for a new college at Oxford in the 1650's laid their emphasis upon divinity and the promoting of the gospel.[33]

It has been argued that Puritanism undermined the mediating authority of the priest through the reliance upon the Bible as the word of God. What remains is the priesthood of all believers. After all, Hill contends, the Bible is a large and diverse book. In it one can find a text somewhere that will prove just about anything he wants to prove[34] even though Puritans had an annoying habit of literalness, which was often incongruent with the new

[27] R. Hookyaas, "Science and the Reformation," *Journal of World History,* III (No. 1, 1956), 118. While it is certainly true that Webster praised Francis Bacon, he also praised the work of Dr. Robert Fludd, the Rosicrucian. Of this double endorsement by Webster, Seth Ward wrote: "there are not two waies in the whole World more opposite, than those of the L. *Verulam* and D. *Fludd,* the one founded upon experiment, the other upon mystical Ideal reasons." (*Vindiciae Academiarum* [Oxford, Eng., 1654], 46.)

[28] George Rosen, "Left-Wing Puritanism and Science," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine,* XV (Apr. 1944), 375–80.

[29] Richard Schlatter, "The Higher Learning in Puritan England," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church,* XXIII (June 1954), 182.

[30] Dorothy Stimson, "Puritanism and the New Philosophy in 17th Century England," *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine,* III (May 1935), 333; see also her *Scientists and Amateurs* (New York, 1948). Purver states that the "Royal Society was, in fact, what it said it was, independent of party, and, not least, of party in religion." (*Royal Society,* 158.)

[31] See John Webster, *The Saints Guide* (London, 1653), 2; William Dell, *Plain and Necessary Confutation* (London, 1654), "Apologie to the Reader."

[32] See Leo F. Solt, "Anti-Intellectualism in the Puritan Revolution," *Church History,* XXV (Dec. 1956), 306–16.

[33] Rabb, "Puritanism and the Rise of Experimental Science," 61.

[34] Hill, *Century of Revolution,* 174.

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science.[35] From this position it is not a very big step to say that an appeal to Holy Scripture is an appeal to one's own individual conscience. By this means the Puritan could conduct his own private research for truth without interference from any conception of hierarchy.[36] There is no question that Puritanism upset traditional notions of order and hierarchy that were characteristic of nearly all aspects of Elizabethan society, but it must never be forgotten that Puritanism imposed its own sense of order, if not hierarchy, upon society by its insistence upon the division between Saints and sinners. As for conducting private research, Hill maintains that "the quest for personal religious experience, to which so many Puritan diaries and spiritual autobiographies are dedicated, is closely akin to the experimental spirit in science," or, it might be added, to the experimental spirit in politics.[37] There is, of course, a sense in which both the words "experience" and "experimental" suggest direct contact with something without the aid of an intermediary.[38] However, to rely on a play on words used in two completely different contexts—the one as in communion with God and the other as in a laboratory experiment—in order to prove a relationship, is to confuse two entirely different kinds of activity. The empirical approach of science involves the observation of physical objects and their arrangement in some kind of regularity; the experimental approach of Puritanism involves the metaphysical confrontation of an anxious pilgrim with the overwhelming power of God's Holy Spirit or divine grace.

The assumption that the Puritan was left entirely to his own and God's devices to work out his salvation in private is misleading. The role of the Church in compulsory Presbyterian Puritanism and voluntary Independent Puritanism was that of a stern disciplinarian. Even though the Puritan congregations may have provided some kind of training ground in local self-government by the godly, the chief goal of the Puritan was to impose a moral surveillance not only over all of the Saints but also over all of society as well.[39] Not only were the clergy to exhort the faithful to godly living, not only did the lay elders have the power of excommunication, but the ultimate goal of the Puritan was to create the New Jerusalem—the kingdom of God—throughout all of England under a rigid discipline of the Saints. Such a collectivist discipline was not conducive to a freethinking society in

[35] S. F. Mason, "Science and Religion in the Seventeenth Century," *Past and Present*, No. 3 (Feb. 1953), 39.

[36] For an elaboration of this point, see Chap. v of Michael Walzer, *The Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origin of Radical Politics* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965).

[37] Hill, *Century of Revolution*, 180.

[38] Ernst Cassirer, *Platonic Renaissance in England*, tr. James P. Pettegrove (Austin, Texas, 1953), 45; Perry, *Puritanism and Democracy*, 192.

[39] Walzer, *Revolution of the Saints*, 219, 300–302, 63.

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which nearly anything is acceptable. Had the Puritans ever been able to erect their holy commonwealth, they would have succeeded in creating "the iron collectivism, the almost military discipline," which Tawney ascribed to Calvin's Geneva.[40] Such an atmosphere is much more conducive to economic restrictions rather than a free market economy. Sidney Ahlstrom reminds us that this Puritan discipline brought a sense of civic responsibility and moral concern.[41] But it must be remembered that it was a repressive discipline imposed from the outside in order to overcome sin and achieve godliness; it did not emanate from any reasonableness or natural virtue within. It never reached the status of a Reign of Terror, but it did have its Rule by the Major Generals.

In order to deprive the magistrate of any power to persecute for ecclesiastical causes, the Puritans separated the church from the state, the world of grace from the world of nature. According to A. S. P. Woodhouse, a principle of analogy operated between these two spheres of man's existence in a completely noncontradictory fashion.[42] If the Saints of an Independent church congregation were all equal before God, then all men were surely equal within the state. But the Saints of New England did not see things this way, and they thought that only the lay Saints should participate in state activity, thereby creating a civil society of great inequality.[43] If the Saints of an Independent church bound themselves together in a mutual church covenant, then here was surely a precedent for the social contract or the business contract. But, as Michael Walzer has pointed out, the covenant and the contract were based on completely opposite views of human nature: the covenant "institutionalizes suspicion and mutual surveillance" whereas the contract assumes an attitude of trust and good will.[44] According to S. F. Mason, God's immutable decrees in Calvinism were the laws of nature, "the theological doctrines of predestination thus preparing the way for the philosophy of mechanical determinism."[45] While there is a resemblance between Calvinistic decrees imposed on mankind by a sovereign

[40] Hudson, "Puritanism and the Spirit of Capitalism," 6.

[41] Sidney Ahlstrom, "Thomas Hooker—Puritanism and Democratic Citizenship," *Church History*, XXXII (Dec. 1963), 425–29.

[42] A. S. P. Woodhouse, *Puritanism and Liberty* (2d ed., Chicago, 1951), introduction.

[43] Alan Simpson, *Puritanism in Old and New England* (Chicago, 1955), 25–26. Hill says that the "ultimate logic" of Luther's doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, which he admits was not subscribed to in any equalitarian sense by the Puritans, led in politics to "individualist anarchy." (*Intellectual Origins*, 284.) Although this may have been true of the Antinomian Puritan sects, it was not true of the Presbyterians or the Independents. Far from allowing anarchy to reign, they exercised within the church, and in some areas of state activity, the closest supervision over fellow church members, and nonchurch members as well where they could get the civil magistrate to carry out their wishes.

[44] Walzer, *Revolution of the Saints*, 63.

[45] Mason, "Science and Religion in the Seventeenth Century," 32.

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God (something like Mosaic law) and natural law (whether in science, politics, or economics) imposed from the outside on the universe by a watchmaker God, Calvin's decrees are not apprehended by reason as are the laws of nature. After all, said the Puritans, how can one inquire into the inscrutability of God's wisdom? And it must not be forgotten, as Perry Miller has reminded us, that since God was sovereign He reserved to himself the right to reverse or interrupt the laws of nature by divine intervention.[46] While there appear to be some parallels between the world of grace and nature, we cannot assume that Puritans were always consistent in their beliefs in all areas of activity. And, in the final analysis, the Puritan hoped to bring the world of nature under the control of the world of grace. His primary goal was to spiritualize the world in all of its manifestations.

We might ask if the Puritan effort to realize God's kingdom on earth rather than in some afterlife is a manifestation of the idea of progress. Roland Bainton has urged that the concept of the kingdom of God "gave an enormous impetus to furious bursts of energy in various fields" because Calvin "projected indefinitely into the future the second coming of Christ."[47] It may be stated, however, that the increasing number of Puritan sectarians who gave attention to millenarianism in the 1650's was rapidly advancing God's apocalyptical timetable. Many of these Puritan millenarians, whose views were frequently an outgrowth of Antinomian theology, saw that successive stages of God's plan for the world had already been realized and that at last the rule of Christ or the Holy Spirit was either imminent or already upon them. In fact, many of these Puritan millennialists—some were Fifth Monarchy Men—were playing a numbers game in order to determine the precise day and year—not far off, to be sure—of Christ's Second Coming.[48] Yet, while all of this may have been an indication of some spiritual progress in the past, as Ernest Tuveson has suggested,[49] it did not in any way imply that man's creaturely comforts had accelerated, or that his technological knowledge had reached new heights, or even that all men had learned to participate in politics. About all that it signified was a growth in grace by the elected Saints so that when Christ actually should appear for the second

[46] Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1939), 33–34.

[47] Roland Bainton, "Critical Comments," *Journal of World History,* III (No. 1, 1956), 140–41.

[48] See Leo F. Solt, "The Fifth Monarchy Men: Politics and the Millennium," *Church History,* XXX (Sept. 1961), 315. Norman Cohn has pointed out the similarities between the revolutionary chiliasm of the Middle Ages and seventeenth century and the totalitarian ideologies of the twentieth century. (*The Pursuit of the Millennium* [Fairlawn, N. J., 1957], foreword and appendix.)

[49] Ernest Tuveson, *Millennium and Utopia: A Study in the Background of the Idea of Progress* (Harper Torchbook ed., New York, 1964), 3–4.

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time, whether literally in person or figuratively in the hearts of the Saints, the political reign of Christ with his Saints for a thousand years would take place. Then human history, indeed human progress, would stop.

My reading of Puritan writings convinces me that their overwhelming concern was with a godly life. Few references were made to economics, or more specifically capitalism, apart from scattered remarks to work hard and avoid idleness. Few references were made to the new science apart from scattered remarks to improve the educational system, and these, mostly dealing with the practical arts or technology, came largely from sectarians who modified Calvinist theology.[50] By far the largest number of references were to the political life, or more specifically the role of the magistrate in religious affairs. Here the thrust of Puritanism was clearly to set up some kind of a disciplined holy commonwealth in which the Saints, whether lay or clerical, fashioned all aspects of human existence around their desire to live a godly life.[51] For the most part, these people were looking backward to the corporate ideal of the medieval period, not ahead to the individualism of the Enlightenment. While some of the Puritans advocated religious toleration, it did not stem from a religious skepticism or, with a few exceptions, from a demand for the absolute freedom of the individual conscience,[52] but rather from the sovereign power of God whose communication with the Saints through the Holy Spirit called for Christian liberty—the freedom of the regenerate to serve God.[53] And when the Puritan did turn to his own conscience as he internalized his religious experiences, usually he was not thinking creatively or imaginatively but instead was measuring his conduct against some external standard of discipline.

Caught up in a period of rapid change and great social mobility[54] where the older sources of authority and stability were under heavy attack, the Puritan was confronted with an anxious "fear of freedom" in a world that seemed to be degenerating into religious anarchy.[55] One of the most important things that the Puritan was seeking in such a period of anxiety was assurance about the condition of his soul. That was the appeal of Calvin's

[50] A case in point is the outlook toward human nature. Calvinists believed in the sinfulness of man through the Fall, but many Puritan mystics felt that the Holy Spirit had completely wiped away all sin, thereby resulting in a kind of spiritual optimism. Gerald Brauer thinks there is an interrelation between this and "the secular optimism of the liberal spirit." ("Puritan Mysticism and the Development of Liberalism," *Church History,* XIX [Sept. 1950], 151–70.)

[51] Richard Schlatter, *The Social Ideas of Religious Leaders, 1660–1688* (London, 1940), 188–89.

[52] Thomas G. Sanders, *Protestant Concepts of Church and State* (New York, 1964), 133.

[53] Woodhouse, *Puritanism and Liberty,* introduction, (67)–(68).

[54] Lawrence Stone, "Social Mobility in England, 1500–1700," *Past and Present,* No. 33 (Apr. 1966), 16–55.

[55] Zevedei Barbu, *Problems of Historical Psychology* (New York, 1960), 183–87.

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decrees about predestination and election; that was why they argued so tenaciously in tract after tract and sermon after sermon that they could not fall totally and finally from grace. To be sure, Calvinist doctrine came to be substantially modified by various revisionists, but the dream of a Puritan holy commonwealth continued until the collapse of the Cromwellian Commonwealth.

These conclusions are essentially negative. They tend to confirm Marshall Knappen's judgment of more than twenty-five years ago regarding Puritanism's contribution to capitalism, democracy, and the new science: "Perhaps the sixteenth-century Puritan did incidentally or accidentally accomplish something along these lines, but he cared nothing for these things. He was saving souls from hell."[56] Does this mean that there is no connection between religion and the phenomena we have been discussing? Not at all, but it does suggest that it may be fruitful to investigate alternative lines of research. In conclusion, let me suggest several possibilities. Winthrop S. Hudson insists that capitalism gained its strength in England in proportion to the "waning of religious faith," although he would argue just the reverse in connection with democracy.[57] H. R. Trevor-Roper has suggested "that it was the Counter-Reformation State which extruded [economic enterprise] from society, not Calvinist doctrine which created it, or Catholic doctrine, which stifled it," and that this was also true of "scientific advance."[58] Finally, Henry Van Leeuwen believes that the constructive skepticism of the liberal Anglican theologians of the seventeenth century had much to do with creating the outlook of "conditional certainty" (not "infallible certainty") which was so important to John Locke and the scientists of the Royal Society.[59]

[56] Marshall Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism* (Chicago, 1939), 350.

[57] Winthrop S. Hudson, "The Weber Thesis Reexamined," *Church History*, XXX (Mar. 1961), 96–98; see also Amintore Fanfani, *Catholicism, Protestantism and Capitalism* (New York, 1955), 178–79. For Hudson's views on Puritanism and democracy, see his "Theological Convictions and Democratic Government," *Theology Today*, X (July 1953), 230–39.

[58] H. R. Trevor-Roper, "Religion, the Reformation, and Social Change," in *Historical Studies IV*, ed. G. A. Hayes-McCoy (London, 1963), 43–44, n. 40.

[59] Henry Van Leeuwen, *The Problem of Certainty in English Thought, 1630–1690* (The Hague, 1963). For a somewhat similar point of view, see H. R. McAdoo, *The Spirit of Anglicanism: A Survey of Anglican Theological Method in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1965).

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Church and State in Peru and Chile since 1840: A Study in Contrasts

FREDRICK B. PIKE*

BY the late 1830's the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church in Peru and Chile were beginning to repudiate the regalistic doctrines that many had accepted at the inception of the independence period.[1] No longer resigned to the dominance of the state over the Church that had prevailed throughout colonial times and that had been particularly marked in the late eighteenth century during the era of Bourbon reforms, churchmen began to want a bipolar power structure in which their ecclesiastical institution would be at least as powerful in the temporal realm as the state.

In Peru clerical leaders gradually became convinced that the declining importance of religious values in the conduct of state affairs was the primary cause of the country's abiding political chaos.[2] Stability could only be achieved, they asserted, if the Church became a major factor in the political realm. And in Chile churchmen were able to attribute the stability that had been attained beginning in 1830 to the fact that the dominant political leaders had recognized religion's indispensable contribution to the establishment of authority and institutional stability and had therefore encouraged the Church to become an imposing temporal force.

Both in Peru and Chile the ire of secular liberal spokesmen was aroused by the clergy's mounting objections to state control and accompanying insistence upon the right to wield political influence. Liberals, moreover, were

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[1] The acceptance of regalistic concepts by Peruvian Church leaders was particularly striking. Beginning with Javier Francisco Echague, appointed ecclesiastical governor of the archbishopric of Lima by José de San Martín in 1821, and extending through the tenure of Francisco Sales de Arrieta as archbishop of Lima (1841–1843), the primate of the Church in Peru had always been a man trained in and willing to accept regalistic formulas.

[2] This viewpoint was expressed as early as 1833 by Francisco Javier de Luna Pizarro. See his *Escritos políticos*, ed. Alberto Tauro (Lima, 1959), 303. Originally an extremely liberal clergyman who accepted regalistic concepts and wished to see the Church withdraw from temporal activities, Luna Pizarro, by the time he became archbishop of Lima in 1846, was a firm believer in the need for the Church not only to be free from state control but also to exercise political power. Other leading Peruvian churchmen whose attitudes underwent a similar transformation were Mariano José de Arce and Juan Gualberto Valdivia.

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on sound historical ground when they argued, as Peru's Francisco Javier Mariátegui was particularly fond of doing,[3] that by demanding state control over the Church they were defending tradition while clergymen were departing from established customs in claiming that the Church should be free from governmental regulation.

Toward the middle of the nineteenth century the battle lines had been clearly established. Supported by some civilian political and intellectual figures who, ignoring liberal contentions that they were actually proposing drastic innovations, proudly proclaimed themselves conservatives, clerical leaders asserted that the Church should be controlled primarily from Rome, that it should be relatively free from state interference, and that it should wield considerable temporal power. Liberals, on the other hand, favored state control over a politically impotent Church. The struggle between liberals and conservatives actually, however, involved far more than either the Church-state question or the issue of the proper place of the Church in temporal society.

Hostile to authoritarianism in all spheres of human activity and frequently championing the principles of liberty and equality and freedom of inquiry, liberals felt they could not fashion the ideal society unless one of the most powerful of all traditional institutions, the Catholic Church, could be transformed into a model of liberty, equality, and freedom of inquiry. Liberals, therefore, attacked the authoritarian, hierarchic organization of the Church, denied the right of the Roman *Curia* to dictate to the clergy in Latin American republics, said the laity was to be virtually equal to the religious in the direction of ecclesiastical affairs, and condemned such special privileges as state collection of tithes and the maintenance of private law courts for clergymen.

In Peru the principal spokesmen of the liberal position included the emotionally unstable Manuel Lorenzo Vidaurre, who served as his country's first supreme court president;[4] the unfrocked priest Francisco de Paula González Vigil, who questioned the authority of the *Curia,* attacked Church wealth, and was eventually excommunicated for advocating many of the

[3] Francisco Javier Mariátegui, "Ligeras observaciones sobre el artículo del *Comercio* titulado 'Inconsequencias y absurdias de un redactor del *Constitucional*,'" *El Constitucional,* I (Apr. 17, 1858), 47, and "El profesor del derecho canónico en el Convictorio Carolino," *ibid.* (May 31, 1858), 187. *El Constitucional* was a newspaper published by a liberal secular group in Lima from April to August 1858.

[4] Much of Vidaurre's thought is revealed in his bombastic *Plan del Perú,* written originally in 1811 and published in Philadelphia in 1823 during a brief period of exile. A useful and in some passages brilliant biography is Jorge Guillermo Leguía, *Vidaurre: Contribución a un ensayo de interpretación sicológica* (Lima, 1935). A talented writer in the much-neglected field of Peruvian intellectual history, Leguía died in 1934 at the age of thirty-six, just as he was beginning to gain widespread recognition.

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ideas recently endorsed by the Second Vatican Council;[5] and the fiery orator and political activist José Gálvez,[6] who was instrumental in the framing of the short-lived liberal constitution of 1856[7] and died a hero's death about a decade later in the successful defense of Callao against a Spanish attack. In Chile important liberal spokesmen included Francisco Bilbao, who attributed most of Latin America's ills to the influence of Catholicism;[8] Santiago Arcos, sometimes referred to as the precursor of Marxian socialism;[9] and José Victorino Lastarria, a prolific author and energetic politician who by the 1860's had abandoned his early romantic liberalism in favor of Positivism.[10]

[5] One of the principal works of the amazingly prolific Vigil, who was equally active in politics and journalism, is *Defensa de la autoridad de los gobiernos y de los obispos contra las pretensiones de la Curia Romana* (10 vols. in 8, Lima, 1848–56). Also significant is his *Defensa sobre tolerancia y libertad de cultos* (Tacna, 1861) and *Importancia de las asociaciones; importancia del educación popular* (Lima, 1948), with a prologue by Alberto Tauro, a distinguished San Marcos professor who has made important contributions in the field of intellectual history. No adequate biography of the fascinating Vigil has been written. Carlos Alberto González, *Francisco de Paula González Vigil, el precursor, el justo, el maestro* (Lima, 1961), is occasionally perceptive but overly adulatory in tone.

[6] No adequate biography of Gálvez is available but Alfonso Benavides Correa, "Herrera y Gálvez en la trayectoria política de la vida republicana del Perú," doctoral dissertation, San Marcos University, 1944, is helpful. The author has subsequently established himself as a respected historical essayist and as a leading figure in his country's Christian Democratic movement.

[7] On the 1856 constitution, see Perú: Congreso, 1855–57 (Convención Nacional), *Actas oficiales y extractos de las sesiones en que fue discutido la constitución de 1856* (Lima, 1911), and *Discursos pronunciados en la Convención Nacional sobre la cuestión religiosa* (Lima, 1855). A good exposition of the liberal position that triumphed in the 1856 constitution is Ignacio Escudero, *Exposición que hace el diputado . . . ante la nación i la provincia de Piura de sus tareas parlamentarios en la Convención Nacional de 1855* (Piura, 1858). The constitutional thought of a leading conservative of the period as well as his country's leading literary figure and the father of future President Manuel Pardo (1872–1876) is set forth in Felipe Pardo y Aliaga, *Proyecto de constitución política, escrito por . . . y presentado a la Convención Nacional* (2d ed., Lima, 1859). Useful but not truly adequate histories of the liberal-conservative ideological debate are Raúl Ferrero Rebagliati, *El liberalismo peruano: Contribución a una historia de las ideas* (Lima, 1958), and Jorge Guillermo Leguía, *Estudios históricos* (Lima, 1939) and *Hombres e ideas en el Perú* (Santiago de Chile, 1941). Much valuable material is also found in Jorge Basadre, *La iniciación de la república* (Lima, 1929) and in the first three volumes of his *Historia de la república del Perú* (10 vols., Lima, 1961–64) as well as in Modesto Basadre, *Diez años de la historia política del Perú, 1834–1844* (2d ed., Lima, 1953), with a prologue and notes by the talented historian Félix Denegri Luna. Jorge Basadre, a nephew of Modesto, is generally considered to be the leading historian of republican Peru.

[8] One of Bilbao's principal works was *La América en el peligro* (2d ed., Santiago de Chile, 1923). Outspoken attacks against Bilbao written from the conservative position are found in Pedro N. Cruz, *Bilbao y Lastarria* (Santiago de Chile, 1944), and Eduardo de la Barra, *Francisco Bilbao ante la sacristía* (Santiago de Chile, 1872). More impartial is Pedro Pablo Figueroa, *Historia de Francisco Bilbao* (Santiago de Chile, 1898), while the outstanding Marxian historian Julio César Jobet in *Ensayo crítico del desarrollo económico social del Chile* (Santiago de Chile, 1955) and other works is rather adulatory.

[9] As with Bilbao, no genuinely satisfactory study has been published on Arcos. Useful information is found in Gabriel Sanhueza, *Santiago Arcos* (Santiago de Chile, 1956), and José Zapiola, *La Sociedad de la Igualdad y sus enemigos* (Santiago de Chile, 1902).

[10] One of Lastarria's important works is *Lecciones de política positiva* (Santiago de Chile, 1874). An excellent biographical study is Alejandro Fuenzalida Grandón, *Lastarria y su tiempo (1817–1888): Su vida, obras e influencia en el desarrollo político e intelectual de Chile* (Santiago de Chile, 1911). For a general study dealing with the liberal-conservative ideological debate in Chile, see Domingo Amunátegui Solar, "Bosquejo histórico de la literatura chilena,"

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In contrast to their liberal adversaries, many conservatives by the 1840's were committed to aggrandizing the traditional position of the Church. In their attitudes toward the Church they were in many instances, even as the liberals, motivated essentially by their political beliefs. They regarded any attack against the authoritarian, hierarchic structure of the Church as necessarily heralding an attempt to bring about a leveling movement within the body politic, and they were more worried about the consequences of democracy within lay rather than religious society. Whereas liberals wanted the Church, even in its internal organization, to reflect the politico-economic ideals that they championed, politically motivated conservatives wanted temporal society to reflect what for them, according to the criteria of their political ideology, was the ideal structure of the ecclesiastical institution. For reasons of expediency in achieving the sort of political structure they desired, they wanted the Church to exercise a strong influence in temporal society.

Important politically motivated conservatives in Peru included Agustín Gamarra, President of the country from 1829 to 1834,[11] and José Rufino Echenique, President from 1851 to 1854.[12] Chile's outstanding example of a politically motivated conservative was the great nation builder Diego Portales,[13] who was guided primarily by pragmatic considerations and always avoided doctrinaire extremes.

Revista chilena de historia y geografía, VI (2° semestre, 1913), XI (3° trimestre, 1914), XII (1° trimestre, 1915), XIV, XV, XVI, XX (4° trimestre, 1916), through XXXV (2° trimestre, 1920). This is perhaps the best single source on nineteenth-century writers of fiction, prose, poetry, history, philosophy, and political essays. Valuable studies touching on the intellectual history of Chile are Ricardo Donoso, *Desarrollo político y social de Chile desde la constitución de 1833* (Santiago de Chile, 1942), written from a liberal point of view; Francisco Antonio Encina, "Las ideas y los conceptos políticos en Chile entre 1817 y 1831," *Boletín de la Academia Chilena de la Historia,* IX (1° semestre, 1942), moderately conservative in approach; and Jaime Eyzaguirre, "Las ideas políticas en Chile hasta 1833: Apuntes para su estudio," *ibid.,* I (1° semestre, 1933), which evidences extreme, conservative prejudices. Many of the Encina and Eyzaguirre interpretations are challenged by J. C. Jobet, *Los precursores del pensamiento social de Chile* (2 vols., Santiago de Chile, 1955, 1956), and "Síntesis interpretativa del desarrollo histórico nacional durante la segunda mitad del siglo XIX," *Atenea,* XII (Apr. 1946).

[11] Originally underestimated, Gamarra is receiving sympathetic treatment from revisionist historians. (See Dante Herrera Alarcón, *Rebeliones que intentaron desmembrar el sur del Perú* [Lima, 1961]; Miguel A. Martínez, *El Mariscal de Pizuiza, don Augstín Gamarra* [Lima, 1946]; and the superb notes supplied by Félix Denegri Luna for the finally published nineteenth-century study of Manuel de Mendiburu, *Biografías de generales republicanos* [Lima, 1963].)

[12] An invaluable work that reveals the political thought of Echenique is his *Memorias para la historia del Perú, 1808–1872* (Lima, 1874). A two-volume edition of the work published in Lima in 1952 benefited from the prologue by Jorge Basadre and the notes of Félix Denegri Luna.

[13] Two of the more useful recent works dealing with Portales are Aurelio Díaz Meza, *El advenimiento de Portales* (Santiago de Chile, 1932), and Alberto Edwards Vives, *Páginas históricas* (Santiago de Chile, 1945). Edwards Vives was one of the most brilliant historical essayists Chile has produced although some readers are exceedingly annoyed by his generally

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In both countries there were also conservatives primarily concerned with the Church rather than with human society, with theological considerations rather than with political ideology. Any endeavor to democratize society might soon result in what to them would be impious and heretical attempts to democratize the Church. And, for them, theological considerations dictated that the Church exercise a powerful political role. This was partially a reaction against the deistic viewpoints popular in the late eighteenth century, even among clergymen, that denied any role either to Providence or to a priestly class in directing the actions of man on earth. Theologically inspired conservatives felt that Providence was indeed a prime determinant in the historical process and that consequently the priestly class, set upon this earth to serve God and to facilitate the working out of providential designs, should have the power to control man in his political activities. Generally more fanatical than their politically motivated colleagues, the men whose conservatism rested upon a theological basis were apt to regard compromise as morally wrong.

Peru's leading doctrinaire, theologically inspired conservative was Bartolomé Herrera. Active for years in politics and one of his country's most influential educators, Herrera finished his days in 1864 as the bishop of Arequipa.[14] In Chile this school was most strikingly represented by the stubborn and inflexible Rafael Valentín Valdivieso y Zañartu who died fourteen years after Herrera following a long and controversy-filled career as archbishop of Santiago.[15]

conservative viewpoints. The two best nineteenth-century biographies are Ramón Sotomayor Valdés, *El ministro Portales* (2d ed., Santiago de Chile, 1954), and Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, *Don Diego Portales* (4th ed., Santiago de Chile, 1937). Sotomayor was the leading nineteenth-century historian of conservative persuasions, and his research is often more thorough than that of such better-known Chilean liberal historians as Diego Barros Arana and Miguel Luis Amunátegui. Vicuña Mackenna was usually too occupied with political affairs to research his studies adequately, but he possessed superb intuitive powers.

[14] Some of the more important writings of Bartolomé Herrera are found in his *Escritos y discursos* (2 vols., Lima, 1929–30), with a prologue by Jorge Guillermo Leguía. This is the work with which the Augusto B. Leguía administration (1919–1930) launched a project of publishing the most important primary sources of Peruvian history. No satisfactory biography of Herrera has appeared. Oscar Barrenechea y Rayada, *Bartolomé Herrera: Educador y diplomático peruano, 1808–1864* (Buenos Aires, 1947), is adulatory in tone. Somewhat more useful is Edmundo Ames González, *Las ideas pedagógicas de Bartolomé Herrera* (Lima, 1958). Considerable information on Herrera and other leading Peruvian churchmen of the period is found in R. M. Taurel, *Obras selectas del clero contemporáneo del Perú, con biografías de los autores y varios documentos interesantes sobre el estado actual de la Santa Iglesia del Perú* (5 vols., Paris, 1853). An extremely conservative French Jesuit, Taurel lived for several years in Peru.

[15] No satisfactory biography of Valdivieso has been published, but a sympathetic treatment of his position is found in the work by Conservative party stalwart Carlos Concha Subercaseaux, *Los partidos políticos chilenos* (Santiago de Chile, 1905). A somewhat more balanced treatment is contained in Alberto Edwards Vives, *Bosquejo histórico de los partidos políticos chilenos* (Santiago de Chile, 1903). Edwards Vives was somewhat favorable to the regalistic position in Church-state relations.

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As they confronted each other, liberals and conservatives were mistaken in many of their assumptions. It was not altogether true, as the liberals argued, that the political and economic milieu could be rendered suitable for implementation of certain aspects of their philosophy only if the Catholic Church were thoroughly liberalized in its internal organization. It was not altogether true, as politically motivated conservatives said, that curtailment of certain historically established Church prerogatives that helped guarantee its exalted position in society would lead to a social revolution. It was not altogether true, as theologically motivated conservatives insisted, that the Church's position as an authority and discipline-oriented divine institution could be maintained only by forcing the political structure to assume a closed and authoritarian organization. That none of these assumptions was completely true was proved in nineteenth-century Peru by two titans of compromise: President Ramón Castilla[16] and Archbishop of Lima Francisco Javier de Luna Pizarro[17] who, together with their advisers, assistants, and successors, developed a program that rested upon a considerable degree of liberal-conservative give-and-take.

By 1860 Peru had a constitution that pleased the liberals in that it prohibited state collection of tithes, suppressed private ecclesiastical law courts, and called for the expansion of state support to education, thus promising to end eventually the Church's long-exercised monopolistic control over instruction.[18]

Conversely, the 1860 constitution pleased at least the politically motivated conservatives by demonstrating that the diminution of traditional Church prerogatives was compatible with the preservation of authoritarian, centralized political rule. Centralism was maintained intact, a large standing army under the control of the President was guaranteed, and an extremely powerful executive dominated the legislature. The 1860 instrument appeared to guarantee the triumph of most of the political objectives sought by conservatives. Peruvians who were conservative because of political convictions were, therefore, disinclined to accept the claims advanced by

[16] The better recent biographies of Castilla include Víctor Andrés Belaúnde, *El Libertador Mariscal Castilla* (Lima, 1951); Félix Denegri Luna, *Ramón Castilla* (Lima, 1963); Miguel A. Martínez, *La vida heróica del Gran Mariscal don Ramón Castilla* (Lima, 1952); and Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Ramón Castilla* (Buenos Aires, 1962). Of these four, the best is the Martínez study.

[17] A reasonably satisfactory biography of the occasionally Machiavellian clerical leader is Julio Altmans Smyth, *D. Francisco Javier de Luna Pizarro* (Lima, 1931). Another politically active priest who also showed a frequent penchant for compromise and who underwent the transformation of liberal to conservative was Luna Pizarro's friend and fellow native of Arequipa, Monsignor Juan Gualberto Valdivia. His fascinating memoirs, *Las revoluciones de Arequipa* (2d ed., Arequipa, 1956), are indispensable for understanding the period.

[18] The best constitutional history of Peru is José Pareja Paz Soldán, *Las constituciones del Perú* (Madrid, 1954). The work contains a penetrating analysis of the 1860 instrument.

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theologically inspired conservatives, especially clergymen, that preservation of the *status quo* in temporal society could not be guaranteed unless the most highly developed authoritarian and disciplined institution, the Catholic Church, could play a decisive role in directing the body politic. Many clergymen quite obviously desired a bipolar balance of power,[19] but since they were not backed by a united conservative grouping they were unable to press their claims with any real effectiveness, and the Church-state issue was kept within the confines of peaceful discussion.

Because political conservatism had been preserved essentially intact, at least for the moment, and because concessions had been made to liberals in regard to the status of the Church, while at the same time hope had been provided them that eventual suffrage expansion would result from the new emphasis on public education, moderates in both camps found it increasingly possible to cooperate with one another. After 1860, with the exception of a few flurries[20] occasioned in part by the intemperate pronouncements of atheist Manuel González Prada,[21] who won very little popular backing, the conservative-liberal, clerical-anticlerical, Church-state issue was essentially removed from Peruvian politics. When *Apristas,* members of a Marxian-inspired political organization founded by Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, tried to reintroduce a part of the old issue in the 1920's by engaging in a blatant campaign against clerical influence,[22] they soon discovered that this

[19] Two Peruvian churchmen who sometimes revealed this spirit were Juan Ambrosio Huerta, bishop of Arequipa from 1880 to 1897, and Manuel Tovar, archbishop of Lima from 1897 to 1907. (See Juan Ambrosio Huerta, *Carta pastoral . . . con motivo de la circulación de algunos impresos anticatólicos* [Lima, 1891], and Manuel Tovar, *Obras de Monseñor Tovar* [4 vols., Lima, 1904–1907].)

[20] A considerable flurry of anticlericalism appeared in the early twentieth century. A *Biblioteca Nacional Anti-Roma de Reforma Higiénico-Liberal-Cristiano* was formed in Lima; Christian Dam was one of several pamphleteers who under its auspices published rabid attacks against the Church. (See his *Breve reseña sobre la historia de los Jesuítas* [Lima, 1907] and *El dogma de la libertad de conciencia* [Lima, 1905].) Although Jesuit historian Rubén Vargas Ugarte was worried by some of the signs of the times and in 1917 replied to Church critics with a pamphlet entitled *La Iglesia es superior al estado* (Lima, 1917), little in the way of lasting consequences was produced by the reappearance of anticlericalism. Moreover the Liberal party, founded in 1901 in part as an instrument of anticlericalism, never gained appreciable strength. Two works by Carlos Miró Quesada Laos deal effectively with the political history of this era, *Autopsía de los partidos políticos* (Lima, 1961) and *Historia del periodismo peruano* (Lima, 1957). Miró Quesada is criticized, often unfairly, by many Peruvian intellectuals for being excessively conservative in his interpretations.

[21] Typical works of the iconoclastic González Prada who died in 1918 and who has been vastly overrated by partisan political writers are *Horas de lucha* (Lima, 1908) and *Páginas libres* (Lima, 1894). The latter work evoked a furious and not very effective retort in the form of two long pamphlets by the priest Bernardino González, *Páginas razonables, en oposición a las páginas libres* (2 vols., Lima, 1895). In spite of all that has been written in Peru and elsewhere on González Prada, no study that is even remotely satisfactory has yet appeared.

[22] For indications of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre's initially unfriendly attitude toward the Catholic Church, see the extract of his 1929 writings included in his *Construyendo el Aprismo* (Buenos Aires, 1933), 66, 129. It is significant also that the 1920 *Congreso Nacional de Estudiantes* in Cuzco, organized and vastly influenced by Haya de la Torre, then president

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part of their program did not attract widespread approval, and by the late 1930's they had abandoned it.

The Peruvian compromise meant that the country's future major political parties would not divide primarily over the issue of conservatism versus liberalism; nor would they wage war over the proper position of the Church in society. The sources of debate that led to long-sustained bloodshed in Mexico and Central America, Colombia and Ecuador, and that caused considerable political disruption in Venezuela and Chile, had been avoided in Peruvian politics by a peaceful compromise resting upon the ability of men to agree on a program of gradualism and evolution and to resist the temptation to seek the overnight imposition of all their views and objectives through revolutionary processes.

Chilean events developed along far different lines. Archbishop Valdivieso y Zañartu was convinced there could be no compromise with the new, secular, liberal spirit of the times and that all right-thinking men must unite in an unrelenting struggle against the forces of evil. By his actions the archbishop often suggested that he wanted a theocratic structure and would settle for no less than a bipolar balance of power between Church and state in temporal affairs. In Manuel Montt, President during the 1850's, he found an implacably regalistic foe, resolutely determined that in temporal matters the state should be supreme, in no way sharing its prerogatives with the Church.[23] While aristocratic President Montt intended to preserve an authoritarian political structure intact, his stand against Archbishop Valdivieso hopelessly alienated all theologically motivated conservatives; at the same time it indirectly encouraged a new group of liberal ideologues, radical revolutionaries at heart, who wished to reform the Church overnight by altering its internal structure and removing every vestige of its political power. They would then proceed toward reforming society by eliminating authoritarian features.

By the 1870's Montt's National party, which had preached both anticlericalism and political conservatism, had virtually disappeared, largely because the anticlerical-clerical issue, first projected in irreconcilable terms by

of the *Federación de los Estudiantes,* lashed out furiously against the Church. In manner reminiscent of nineteenth-century anticlericalism, its resolutions maintained that the state should cease the great national absurdity of supporting a useless caste, the clergy, and called for a state monopoly over higher education to guard against the dangers of dogmatic instruction. (See *Mercurio peruano* [Lima], IV [May 1920], 311–12.) For an indication of *Aprismo*'s anticlericalism in the early 1930's, see the Luis Alberto Sánchez pamphlet, *Aprismo y la religión* (Lima, 1933). No objective and adequately researched study of Haya de la Torre and *Aprismo* has yet appeared.

[23] A sympathetic treatment of the Montt administration is Alberto Edwards Vives, *El gobierno de Manuel Montt* (Santiago de Chile, 1933).

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Montt and Valdivieso, had become so embittered and impassioned as to obliterate most other considerations. Under these conditions it was no longer possible to separate religious from political matters in the conservative-liberal issue. The country divided into one group (represented by the Conservative party) that was conservative both in its politics and its theology, and another (represented by the Liberal and Radical parties) that was liberal in both respects.[24] Chile was plunged into a period of dissension, divisiveness, and ideological combat that lasted well into the twentieth century. Whereas conservatism versus liberalism, political authority versus freedom, clericalism versus anticlericalism, Church versus state were somewhat separate issues that were joined after 1860 in Peru only by extremists, they were the inseparable issues around which major Chilean political parties of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries formed.

Strangely enough, the Church in late nineteenth-century Peru, although enjoying the protection of most governments and seldom overtly attacked by major political groups, did not fare much better than it did in Chile, where governments were often hostile and where important parties regarded anticlericalism as the surest means of attracting public support. In Peru, however, it was clear to all save the most biased observers that the Church's declining prestige and influence resulted from a natural and somewhat democratic process as influential leaders voluntarily adopted new sets of values. In Chile the Church's declining fortunes could easily be attributed by irate clergymen to political harassment and persecution. Thus in Chile, where it seemed to many to be politically forced, the Church's decline engendered more bitterness than in Peru.

In part the Church's influence declined in Peru and Chile between 1860 and 1900 because of the advance of Positivism. The popularity of Positivism in Chile is well known,[25] but perhaps there is inadequate appreciation of the

[24] On Chilean political parties, see Justo Arteaga Alemparte, *Nuestros partidos y nuestros hombres* (Santiago de Chile, 1886); Alberto Edwards Vives, *La fronda aristocrática* (11th ed., Santiago de Chile, 1959); Jaime Eyzaguirre, *Fisonomía histórica del Chile* (Santiago de Chile, 1948); Luis Galdames, *Evolución constitucional de Chile* (Santiago de Chile, 1925); Federico Gil, *The Political System of Chile* (Boston, 1966); and Ramón Sotomayor Valdés, *Historia de Chile durante los cuarenta años trascurridos desde 1831 hasta 1871* (2 vols., Santiago de Chile, 1875–76). Useful works on the exceedingly anticlerical Radical party founded in 1863 include the unfriendly account by Eduardo de la Barra, *El radicalismo chileno* (Santiago de Chile, 1874), and the sympathetic studies of Yerko Koscine Peralta, *El radicalismo como partido político: Su génesis y su doctrina* (Santiago de Chile, 1956); Armando Labra Carvajal, *La política radical* (Santiago de Chile, 1912); Ramón Liborio Carvallo, *Ojeada histórica sobre el Partido Radical* (Santiago de Chile, 1910); and Nicolás Federico Torres, *El radicalismo chileno: Su origen, su historia, su programa, su tendencias, su porvenir y su enemigos* (Coquimbo, 1896).

[25] Chile's leading popularizer of Positivism was Juan Enrique Lagarrigue. A typical work by the prolific author, who deserves a comprehensive study of his life and intellectual influence, is *La religión de la humanidad* (Santiago de Chile, 1884). Luis Lagarrigue, a brother of Juan Enrique, was also an important figure in Chilean Positivism and succinctly set forth many of

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vogue it enjoyed in Peru.[26] Whereas before 1860 the academic year of Lima's San Marcos University almost always opened with a discourse that was little more than a Roman Catholic religious sermon, after that time these addresses were often positivist tracts, characterized by their attacks against religious beliefs and their defense of science as the only source of truth. The still officially required course at San Marcos on Catholic catechism was, moreover, taught by Mariano Amezaga, who had advanced even beyond most Positivists and become an atheist.[27]

By 1900 neither in Peru nor in Chile could the most sanguine clergymen pretend that their divine institution came even close to constituting one of two poles of temporal power and influence. Many religious, however, had not abandoned hope in the eventual attainment of a bipolar balance of power and were anxiously seeking means to enhance the might of the Church. In the first third of the twentieth century circumstances seemed to favor their ambitions.

Both in Peru and Chile turn of the century *pensadores,* many of them influenced by Uruguay's José Enrique Rodó and his enthusiastically received book *Ariel* (Montevideo, 1900), sparked a humanistic, Hellenistic reaction against positivist and utilitarian concepts and began to stress the higher human values—cultural, moral, aesthetic, and spiritual.[28] Although

the tenets of this ideology in his *Incorporación de la proletariado a la sociedad moderna: Nociones positivas sobre el trabajo, la producción, el salario, el capital y la propiedad* (2d ed., Santiago de Chile, 1920).

[26] Some of the important works by typical Peruvian Positivists include Luis Carranza, *Artículos publicados por . . .* (3 vols., Lima, 1887–88); José Antonio García y García *La escuela primeria* (Lima, 1878); Pablo Patrón, *Estudio crítico sobre el discurso del Dr. Javier Prado y Ugarteche acerca del Perú colonial* (Lima, 1894); Juan Francisco Pazos Varela, *Tesis sobre la inmigración en el Perú* (Lima, 1891); and Francisco Tudela y Varela, *Socialismo peruano* (Lima, 1905). About the turn of the century a group of distinguished Peruvian intellectuals advanced a modified form of Positivism. While remaining true to the movement's emphasis on material progress and scientific knowledge, they rejected its disparaging attitude toward the Indians. They also rejected the laissez-faire economics associated with Positivism and urged government intervention aimed at achieving greater social justice. They exhibited, moreover, a far more restrained type of anticlericalism than that proclaimed by the early Positivists. The principal spokesmen of this school of modified Positivism, each a prolific author and a political activist, were Joaquín Capelo, Mariano H. Cornejo, José Matías Manzanilla, Luis Miró Quesada, Javier Prado, and Manuel Vicente Villarán. These men and their impact on intellectual and political trends deserve the serious attention of future historians.

[27] Mariano Amezaga gives a succinct summary of his views in *Los dogmas fundamentales del catolicismo ante la razón* (Valparaíso, 1873). Both Amezaga and a fascinating precursor of many of his ideas, Enrique Alvarado (who died in 1856), merit careful study.

[28] In Peru the reaction against Positivism and utilitarianism was spearheaded by three professors who defended a position of relative philosophical idealism. Each was a prolific author, but only one typical work for each is cited: Alejandro O. Deustua, *La Cultura nacional* (2d ed., Lima, 1937); Mariano Ibérico Rodríguez, *La filosofía de Enrique Bergson* (Lima, 1916); and Juan Manuel Polar, *Don Quijote en Yankilandia* (2d ed., 2 vols., Cuzco, 1958). Other works of distinguished Peruvian intellectuals of the so-called generation of 1900 who took the lead in challenging Positivism and asserting the need to be guided by higher spiritual, cultural, and aesthetic values include: Víctor Andrés Belaúnde, a renowned diplomat, essayist, and amateur historian who gained prominence on the intellectual scene as early as

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this movement was begun and at first popularized largely by lapsed Catholics who were convinced that humanism was an adequate foundation upon which to base the higher values they extolled, a new pattern became discernible roughly between 1910 and 1930. More and more the leaders of the spiritual reaction against utilitarian and mechanistic criteria began to return to the Church, persuaded that higher human values, if they were to prevail, required a theological foundation.

In Lima a Catholic University was established in 1917; in Chile an older Catholic University, founded in Santiago in 1888, first began to acquire academic respectability in the early twentieth century. Both universities were primarily concerned with forming an elite that could appreciate, guard, and nourish the most exalted human values.[29] Practical studies were largely eschewed as beneath the dignity of a privileged intellectual class. By the 1930's, in Peru at least, the new Catholic University could claim greater social prestige than the venerable national San Marcos University which, under the pressure of the university reform movement that began at Córdoba, Argentina, in 1918, was beginning to open its doors to students of humble origins.[30] In contrast, the Catholic University reserved its instruction for members of the aristocracy.

1910 and whose return to the Catholic Church before 1920 made a widespread impression, *Meditaciones peruanas* (2d ed., Lima, 1963), *Mi generación en la universidad* (Lima, 1961), and *Palabras de fe* (Lima, 1952); Francisco García Calderón Rey, *En torno al Perú y América* (Lima, 1954), with a preliminary essay by Jorge Basadre, a notable anthology of the best works of the well-known writer who, although a leader in the reaction against Positivism, remained throughout his life an agnostic; Ventura García Calderón Rey, the brother of Francisco and a distinguished writer in his own right, *Acerca de la generación literaria peruana de 1905* (Paris, 1946); and José de la Riva Agüero, *Afirmación del Perú* (2 vols., Lima, 1960), an anthology of the works of the eminent and prolific historian with a prologue by V. A. Belaúnde. Riva Agüero was the dominant figure in the generation of 1900's reaction against Positivism and was generally acknowledged as his country's leading intellectual until becoming a fanatic spokesman of fascism in the 1930's. Chilean works representative of the intellectual reaction against Positivism include Juan Bardina, *Leyenda perjudicial: La supuesta inferioridad de españoles* (Santiago de Chile, 1918); Francisco Bulnes Correa, *El porvenir de las naciones hispanoamericanos* (Santiago de Chile, 1900); Aliro Carrasco, *Letras hispanoamericanas* (Santiago de Chile, 1919); Tito V. Lisoni, *El libro "Ariel"* (Santiago de Chile, 1905); Jorge Huneeus Gana, *Estudios sobre España* (2 vols., Santiago de Chile, 1898); and Magallanes Moure, *Le Chile et la France* (Paris, 1919). Bulnes and Huneeus, in addition to being noted intellectuals, were also active in politics. Their books and that of Carrasco extol the virtues of Spanish traditions and call upon Chileans to return to them. The work by Lisoni, another figure active in politics, describes something of the favorable impact created by Rodo's *Ariel* among Chilean intellectual circles. The work by Moure, a leading Chilean poet, glorifies French culture and calls for a rejection of the utilitarian, materialistic values of such countries as the United States.

[29] The purposes for which the Catholic University in Lima was founded are described in the lead editorial of *Estudios: Organo de la Universidad Católico,* I (July–Aug. 1928), 1–2. Apparently the university was concerned only with the elite of society and was decidedly hostile to all modern ideas except fascism.

[30] On the origins of the university reform movement in Peru, see *La reforma universitaria: Documentos relativos a la propagación del movimiento en América Latina,* ed. Gabriel del Mazo (Buenos Aires, 1927), 85–181.

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In the 1920's, understandably desiring to capitalize on the increasingly favorable circumstances in which they found themselves and at the same time perturbed by heightened social tensions and the dissemination of such radical ideologies as anarchism, socialism, and Communism, Church leaders began to form Catholic action groups. The primary purpose of Catholic action was to awaken the social conscience of the upper classes and to induce them, through paternalistic measures, to mitigate the material suffering of the masses so that social solidarity might be re-established.[31] Thus, a genuine effort was initiated under Catholic auspices to reform society from above.

At this time the Catholic Church in Peru received favorable treatment from dictator Augusto B. Leguía, who ruled from 1919 to 1930. A shrewd opportunist who wished to preserve the main features of capitalism as traditionally practiced and who was concerned by the rise of extremist reform groups, Leguía saw in the Church an important ally in his opposition to drastic change. He therefore established a warm relationship with the somewhat naïve archbishop of Lima, Emilio Lissón y Chávez, and cooperated fully with Catholic action programs that were intended to silence the cries being raised in favor of liberty and equality by stressing fraternity and solidarity among all groups in a permanently and necessarily stratified society.

Chile's most ardent advocate of fraternity as opposed to equality was Juan Enrique Concha, a wealthy and influential Conservative party senator.[32] Recognizing that the country's traditional rural paternalism was breaking down because of the urbanization and industrialization processes already

[31] Works that touch upon and reveal something of the nature of Catholic action in Peru during the 1920's are Mariano N. García, *Breves discursos religiosos* (Cuzco, 1927); Juan Landázuri Ricketts, *Carta pastoral de Excmo. y Rvdmo. Monseñor . . . sobre la Acción Católica con motivo de conmemorarse el XX aniversario de su fundación oficial en el Perú* (Lima, 1955); and Monsignor Luis Lituma, "La Iglesia Católica en el Perú durante el siglo xx," in *Visión del Perú en el siglo* xx, ed. José Pareja Paz Soldán (2 vols., Lima, 1962), II, 473–523. The spirit animating Catholic action in Chile is described in the following publications: Juan Díaz Salas, *Bosquejo del Partido Conservador* (Santiago de Chile, 1936); Sergio Fernández Larraín, *Posiciones católicas ante lo económico-social* (Santiago de Chile, 1936); Pedro Lira Urquieta, *El futuro del país y del Partido Conservador* (Santiago de Chile, 1934); Arturo Lyon Peña, "En defensa de nuestra democracia," *El Diario Ilustrado,* the Church-affiliated, ultraconservative Santiago daily, Nov. 15, 1955; and Julio Philippi, *El espíritu de la acción social católica* (Santiago de Chile, 1935). Also useful are *Justicia Social,* a weekly published in Santiago by Catholic elements beginning in 1922, and *Unión Social,* an annual published by the *Unión Social Católica* beginning in 1925.

[32] Two of the many works in which Juan Enrique Concha explained his social and political philosophy are *Conferencias sobre economía social* (Santiago de Chile, 1918) and *Cuestiones obreras* (Santiago de Chile, 1899). An extremely valuable study that deals at length with Concha is a manuscript by James Morris, shortly to be published by the Cornell University Press under the tentative title of "Elites, Intellectuals, and Consensus: A Study of the Social Question and the Industrial Relations System in Chile." Much of the spirit exemplified by Concha is also found in Abdón Cifuentes, *Colección de discursos* (3 vols., Santiago de Chile, 1916), another leading figure in the Conservative party.

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at work, Concha determined that paternalism must be established in a new, urban setting. He decided this could be accomplished through the introduction of compulsory company unions by means of which labor-management disputes could be amicably resolved, with management always maintaining power and dealing with laborers as *patrones* had customarily dealt with serfs. In addition Concha argued that the wealthy should sacrifice some of their money to build adequate housing facilities for workers and some of their time to visit, advise, and establish warm relations with the poor. A significant portion of the social and labor legislation introduced by Concha and his associates in the Chilean congressional sessions of 1919 was actually approved in 1924, following pressure from the military, and incorporated the following year into the country's new constitution.[33]

With the advantage of hindsight it is possible to criticize the Catholic Church's advocacy of paternalism and its failure to cope with the inexorable tide of social pluralism, a system within which different social and functional interest groups could exercise the powers of self-protection and thus escape reliance upon the charitable inclinations of a small elite. It is only fair to recognize, however, that the Church and its related lay groups in the 1920's made rather significant contributions toward supplying palliatives to the social problem and succeeded in reducing tensions.

In Chile the mounting influence of the Catholic Church as it confronted the social problem helped spur the traditionally anticlerical Radical and Liberal parties to renewed efforts against their old adversary and led to the intensification of efforts to bring about Church-state separation. The Conservative party, joined by allies from some other political groups, became strong enough to wage a spirited opposition against the separation movement and might actually have been victorious had the issue been decided in a thoroughly democratic manner. Instead, however, a rather cunningly contrived and manipulated plebiscite accorded ratification to the 1925 constitution, one of the articles of which provided for Church-state separation.[34] Nevertheless, separation did not lead to the persecution of the Church that many had feared, and the prestige of Catholicism undoubtedly rose in the years immediately following approval of the new constitution.

The revival of Catholic influence and the Church's attempt to reform society from above, generally encouraged by the Peruvian administration and regarded with ineffective hostility by some of Chile's governing groups, benefited from the vogue of fascism within many intellectual and political

[33] On the social provisions of the 1925 constitution, see Julio Heise González, *La constitución de 1925 y las nuevas tendencias político-sociales* (Santiago de Chile, 1951), an important contribution to the political and social history of Chile.

[34] On the adoption of the 1925 constitution, see Fredrick B. Pike, *Chile and the United States, 1880–1962* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1963), 182–85.

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circles. From the moment of fascism's appearance as a new social, political, and economic ideology, important leaders both of the clergy and laity embraced it enthusiastically and sought to associate the Church with it.

To many Peruvian Catholics the strengthening of religious dogma and of political authority, which they regarded as a central feature of fascism, had to proceed simultaneously, for the one always depended on the other.[35] Numerous clergymen, moreover, from prelates to humble parish priests, embraced fascism as the one system in harmony with the social teachings of the Church and the pronouncements of papal encyclicals.[36] In a way the clergy's approval of fascism represented a renewed effort on its part to remake society in the authoritarian, hierarchic image of the Church; it reverted to efforts of conservative nineteenth-century priests like Bartolomé Herrera, himself a pioneer advocate of the corporate state political structure,[37] to fashion a temporal world that reflected the internal organization of the Church.

Associated with fascism in the minds of many Peruvians was the concept of *hispanismo,* or the glorification of Spanish traditions. Fascism was regarded as the means of restoring and safeguarding the aristocratic, centralized, authoritarian political structure, together with the paternalistic and carefully supervised economic order and the close Church-state relationship that the Spaniards had sought to establish in colonial Peru.

One of the most passionate champions of fascism in Peru was the eminent historian José de la Riva Agüero who, with justification, could write: "I enjoy the honor of having raised in Peru the cry against the pseudodemocratic lies, the cry in favor of fascist Italy and the true concept of social distributive justice."[38] Having returned to Peru from a self-imposed exile upon the fall of dictator Leguía, Riva Agüero began in tones that were occasionally wild and ranting to denounce capitalism which "New York City, the revolting center of international Jewry," had helped impose upon the world.[39] Democracy and liberalism, averred the historian, led inevitably to

[35] See Luis Alberto Sánchez, *Balance y liquidación del novecientos* (Santiago de Chile, 1949), 19. Sánchez, a noted literary historian, long-time San Marcos University rector, and active *Aprista* political figure, is unduly critical of the men of the generation of 1900 who led the reaction against Positivism.

[36] See, e.g., José Rosell Ríos, "Introducción al estudio de la doctrina social de la Iglesia," *Revista de la Universidad Católica del Perú,* IX (May–June 1941).

[37] See Bartolomé Herrera, *Proyecto de reforma constitucional* (Lima, 1860), a proposal for establishment of what essentially was a corporate state. Herrera's advocacy of a corporate political system accounted in part for the great vogue that he came to enjoy among conservative Catholic circles of the 1920's and 1930's.

[38] José de la Riva Agüero, "Sobre dos recientes opúsculos de Jorge del Vecchio," in José de la Riva Agüero and Carlos Miró Quesada Laos, *Dos estudios sobre Italia contemporánea* (Lima, 1937), 53.

[39] José de la Riva Agüero, writing in *Revista de la Universidad Católica del Perú,* IX (Nov.–Dec. 1941), 466.

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Communism. Although for many years a freethinker, Riva Agüero ceremoniously announced his return to the Church in 1932 and began to proclaim that only Catholicism and fascism could contain the Communist menace. "Up with Catholicism," he wrote, "up with the corporate state and fascism, with order, hierarchy, and authoritarianism." Warming to his subject Riva Agüero, who by this time preferred to be known as the Marqués de Aulestia, the noble title of his Spanish ancestors, continued:

> There can be no middle ground. Either to the right or to the left. Democracy, capitalism, the liberal tradition, all represent a middle ground which is really disguised communism or else the certain road to communism. Liberalism, capitalism, and democracy, all based on utilitarianism and materialism, destroyed the hierarchy of classes and values and led to the reign of mediocrity, and in general so befouled human existence that they spawned communism as a reaction and supposed remedy. The only solution is to return to the medieval, Catholic, Hispanic tradition as now embodied in fascism.[40]

In part because of the association established between fascism and Catholicism in Peru, the Catholic University became one of the most important intellectual centers for the dissemination of fascist ideology.[41] The views of the university's student leaders were strikingly revealed at the Second Ibero-American Congress of Catholic Students that met in Lima in 1939. In their discourses the Peruvian representatives emphasized the need to return to the glorious traditions of Spain, which had at last found a modern defender in General Francisco Franco. In exalting *hispanismo,* one speaker claimed:

> Spanish culture was so infinitely superior to that of the Indians of Peru that the Indian culture had to be destroyed to make possible the introduction of morality and progress. . . . *Hispanidad* represents the permanent spiritual community of the Hispanic peoples and is based upon the values of Catholicism, hierarchy, and the brotherhood of Iberian peoples. . . . This brotherhood obliges us to fight for the social order of Christian justice, rejecting as equally bad liberal capitalism and Marxist collectivism.[42]

The association between the Catholic Church and fascism in Chile was somewhat less intimate and binding and of rather shorter duration than in

[40] *Id.*, "La última conferencia de Riva Agüero," *ibid.*, XIII (Apr. 1945).

[41] Two typical doctoral theses of the period at the Catholic University that extolled fascism and the corporate state are Raúl Ferrero Rebagliati, *Marxismo y nacionalismo: Estado nacional corporativo* (Lima, 1937), and Carlos Radicati de Primeglio, *De las antiguas a las modernas corporaciones* (Lima, 1937).

[42] Confederación Iberoamericana de Estudiantes Católicos, Rama Peruana, Congreso Iberoamericano de Estudiantes Católicos, 2°, Lima, 1939, *Documentos, conclusiones* (Lima, 1941), 158, 172.

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Peru. Nevertheless, it definitely existed. Bishop Gilberto Fuenzalida Guzmán of Concepción, in a 1924 pastoral letter, praised Fascism for the manner in which it had restored morality to Italy while at the same time solving all of that country's social problems.[43] Bishop Martín Rücker of Chillán was impressed with the accomplishments of Italy under Mussolini and regarded fascism as the only means of stemming Communism.[44] Perhaps fascism's most assiduous propagandist in Chile was Father Guillermo Viviani Contreras who, as early as 1919, was convinced that liberalism on one hand and socialism on the other were destroying cultural and spiritual values and that the world could only be saved by a return to the corporate structure of the Middle Ages.[45] In 1927 the priest was certain that Mussolini and Miguel Primo de Rivera had begun to apply world-saving formulas.[46] In 1929, moreover, Santiago's Archbishop Crescente Errázuriz talked in glowing terms of fascism,[47] while the official organ of the Chilean hierarchy concluded that Italy was showing the world how to triumph over the evils of the liberal creed.[48] Not only had Mussolini routed the defenders of pseudo democracy, the ecclesiastical journal added; he had also crushed the doctrines and the parties of international Masonry.[49]

It would be misleading to suggest that support for fascism and the corporate state during the 1920's and 1930's came exclusively from men prominently associated with the Catholic Church. But it is significant that the most carefully rationalized support for them, favoring them as philosophically and theologically sound and good, came from Catholic spokesmen. Other elements favored fascism and its corporate political structure only because they regarded them pragmatically as the means most likely to bring about rapid material development.

In Chile, however, much more strikingly than in Peru, some Catholic intellectuals, both of the clergy and laity, began in the mid-1930's to

[43] *El Diario Ilustrado,* June 12, 1925, contains the text of the pastoral.

[44] See Rücker's review of the book by Father Guillermo Viviani Contreras, *Doctrinas sociales*, in the Santiago daily *El Mercurio,* Feb. 5, 1928.

[45] See Guillermo Viviani Contreras, *La cuestión social en Chile* (Santiago de Chile, 1919), 7–10.

[46] See the articles by Guillermo Viviani Contreras in *El Mercurio,* Aug. 18, 21, 1926; see also his "La crisis del régimen parlamentaria," *ibid.,* Feb. 5, 1928, and his books, *La organización social corporativa* (Santiago de Chile, 1928) and *Sociología chilena: Estudio de sociología general aplicada a nuestro país* (Santiago de Chile, 1926).

[47] See *El Mercurio,* Feb. 13, 1929.

[48] *La Revista Católica: Organo de la Provincia Eclesiástica Chilena,* Feb. 16, 1929.

[49] *Ibid.;* see also *El Diario Ilustrado,* Mar. 8, 1929. Another publication that frequently advanced the fascist viewpoint was *Estudios,* appearing in Santiago from 1932 to 1955, frequently as a monthly. The guiding spirit of *Estudios* was Jaime Eyzaguirre, once regarded by many as Chile's leading Catholic intellectual. Eyzaguirre's fanatic dedication to a political ideology that is largely borrowed from fascism and the views of Joseph de Maistre and Juan Francisco María Donoso Cortés detracts seriously from the value of his many historical works.

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criticize fascism's ideological basis. Jesuits such as Jorge Fernández Pradel[50] and Alberto Hurtado[51] as well as Catholic laymen, among them Eduardo Frei and other founders of the Christian Democratic movement, questioned the very notion of paternalism, of the stratified social structure, of the closed society, and of political authoritarianism. Gradually they became convinced that social justice could be found only in social pluralism and political democracy.[52] Even before the results of World War II had brought international disgrace to fascism, some Chilean Catholics had begun earnestly to challenge its tenets. This fact resulted in a serious split between Chilean Catholic spokesmen: one group continued to advocate paternalism and sociopolitical hierarchy; another defended pluralism. For a number of years after the war's end, this split greatly weakened the effectiveness and influence of the Catholic Church in Chile.

The situation in Peru was different, at least in degree. Effective critics of fascism within the Catholic Church were rare indeed, and the ideology passed out of favor by 1945 mainly as the result of external factors accompanying the defeat of the Axis Powers. In 1945 when devout Catholic layman José Luis Bustamante y Rivero became President and sought to introduce genuine socioeconomic reforms aimed at achieving a greater measure of social pluralism and political democracy he found almost no articulate and well-defined group within the Church with which to ally himself. Thus he was driven to the unsuccessful attempt to gain support from *Apristas,* whose movement was beginning to disavow its earlier ideological connection with Marxism.[53]

So far as practical effects were concerned, by 1945 the position of the

[50] The views of the influential Jorge Fernández Pradel are set forth in his *Acción Católica* (Santiago de Chile, 1941), *Hacia un nuevo orden por un catolicismo social auténtico* (Santiago de Chile, 1952), and *Un nuevo orden social* (Santiago de Chile, 1940).

[51] On the social, economic, and political concepts of Alberto Hurtado, see his *¿Es Chile un país católico?* (Santiago de Chile, 1941), *El orden social cristiano en los documentos de la jerarquía católica* (2 vols., Santiago de Chile, 1947), and *El sindicalismo* (Santiago de Chile, 1950). Father Hurtado, known as the "labor priest," did outstanding work in encouraging social justice. Like Fernández Pradel and like today's Christian Democrats in Chile, Hurtado felt that social justice based merely on pragmatic considerations and lacking theological roots was bound to be inadequate. (See the sympathetic biography by Christian Democratic diplomat-historian Alejandro Magnet, *El Padre Hurtado* [Santiago de Chile, 1954].)

[52] On the formative years of Christian Democracy—originally the movement was called the Falange Nacional—see Alejandro Silva Bascuñán, long a respected professor of constitutional law at the Catholic University in Santiago, *Una experiencia social cristiana* (Santiago de Chile, 1949); Falange Nacional, *El Partido Conservador* (Santiago de Chile, 1938), a blistering attack against the allegedly reactionary social attitudes of the Conservative party; and Eduardo Frei, *Aun es tiempo* (Santiago de Chile, 1942), *Chile desconocido* (Santiago de Chile, 1937), and *El régimen asalariado y su posible abolición* (Santiago de Chile, 1933).

[53] On the program, the aspirations, and the frustrations of José Luis Bustamante y Rivero, see his *Tres años de lucha por la democracia en el Perú* (Buenos Aires, 1949). See also Víctor Villanueva Valencia, *El militarismo en el Perú* (Lima, 1962) and *La tragedia de un pueblo y de un partido* (Santiago de Chile, 1954); these two books show that while the old guard

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Church both in Chile and Peru was similar. In each country the intellectual influence of Catholicism, which had enjoyed a remarkable resurgence in the 1920's, had receded to nearly the low point of the late nineteenth century. Partially because of the weakness of the Church in both countries, Catholic groups did not play a significant part, as they had in the 1920's and 1930's, in undertaking charitable and paternalistic programs aimed at easing social pressures. In the two decades prior to World War II the Church had exercised some power as the social conscience of the upper classes. In the immediate postwar period, however, that conscience was largely stifled, and for nearly fifteen years directing classes in Chile and Peru, liberated from the nagging warnings of Church spokesmen, ignored the social problems and thereby played into the hands of Communists and other extremists.

As they surveyed the situation after the war and wondered how to move toward making the Church once again a vital force in their respective countries, some Peruvian, for the first time, and some Chilean churchmen, continuing the tradition begun by Jesuits Fernández and Hurtado and laymen like Frei, decided to proceed from the bottom rather than from the top of society. Abandoning hope in the willingness of the upper classes to solve social problems through charity, these Church leaders felt that the lower classes must acquire the power to demand dignity and reasonable comfort within society. Churchmen of this persuasion renounced the old ideal of a paternalistic, rigidly stratified society and accepted instead a pluralistic, competitive one.

There were many reasons for this, the most obvious being the awakening of the masses. If clerical leaders failed to attempt to reform society from below, then the lower classes, whose great potential power was each day becoming more evident, would be taken over by such traditional foes of the Church as Communists, Protestants, and materialistic, anticlerical politicians.

Seeking to participate in and even, if possible, to help lead a reform from below, Chilean churchmen resorted to somewhat different tactics from those of the Peruvian clergy. Because the anticlerical tradition was still strong and its major political proponent, the Radical party, was still a power to be reckoned with, Chilean Church leaders cautiously avoided overt intervention in politics or direct support of a political party lest their ef-

Apristas had become too conservative and too opportunistic to cooperate with Bustamante, the young militants of the movement were too extreme in their Marxist-inspired reform aspirations to accept Bustamante's program of gradual change.

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forts be self-defeating and counterproductive. They largely respected the insistence of the Catholic-oriented, reformist Christian Democratic party that it be allowed to remain absolutely free from any official ties with the Church.

The ability of the Christian Democrats to convince the Chilean electorate that they lacked altogether a formal connection with the clergy undoubtedly contributed to their recent political successes. By their widely proclaimed advocacy of sweeping social change, however, Chilean clergymen indirectly contributed to the rise of Christian Democracy.[54] The message propounded by the clergymen helped persuade the devout, perhaps the women in particular, that the dramatic social, political, and economic transformation urged by Christian Democrats was not contrary to Church teaching. This was an important factor in the triumph of the Christian Democrats' Eduardo Frei over the Communist-Socialist candidate Salvador Allende in the September 1964 presidential election—Frei received 63 per cent of the women's vote, Allende only 32 per cent.[55]

In Peru, where ever since the compromise of the Castilla era anticlericalism has been a less provocative issue, the Church could more directly operate within the political arena. Many clerical leaders, undoubtedly a majority of them, rather openly supported the presidential bid of *Acción Popular* candidate Fernando Belaúnde Terry in 1963. Their backing aided the narrow victory of the reform-minded Belaúnde over his more conservative rivals, *Aprista* leader Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre and Manuel A. Odría of the *Unión Nacional Odriista*.[56]

That Peruvian clergymen would choose to back a reform candidate who was also supported by some rather extreme Leftist groups attests to the change that the Catholic Church in Peru has begun to undergo. In the past

[54] The new and progressive spirit of the Chilean hierarchy is set forth most succinctly in the joint pastoral letter *Los obispos de Chile hablan: El deber social y político en la hora presente* (Santiago de Chile, 1962). A spirit of economic naïveté and social romanticism that allegedly appears in the pastoral is examined by Fredrick B. Pike, "The Catholic Church and Modernization in Peru and Chile," *Journal of International Affairs,* XX (No. 2, 1966), esp. 277–82.

[55] See Orville G. Cope, "The 1964 Presidential Election in Chile: The Politics of Change and Access," *Inter-American Economic Affairs,* XIX (Spring 1966), 22-23, and James Petras, "After the Chilean Presidential Election: Reform or Stagnation?" *Journal of Inter-American Studies,* VII (July 1965), 378; see also George W. Grayson, Jr., "Significance of the Frei Administration for Latin America," *Orbis,* IX (Fall 1965), 760–79.

[56] On recent political events in Peru including the nullified 1962 presidential election and the 1963 election which resulted in Belaúnde's victory, see Enrique Chirinos Soto, *Cuenta y balance de las elecciones de 1962* (Lima, 1962), one of the more objective political analyses written recently in Peru; Robert E. McNicoll, "Recent Political Developments in Peru," *Inter-American Economic Affairs,* XVIII (Summer 1964); Fredrick B. Pike, "Fernando Belaúnde, *Acción Popular,* and Reform by Compromise in Peru," *ibid.,* XX (Spring 1967); Humberto Ugolotti Dansay, *Las elecciones de 1963 y las elecciones de 1962* (Lima, 1963); and Víctor Villanueva Valencia, *Un año bajo el sable* (Lima, 1963), a work that contains interesting information, but is marred by the author's antimilitary bias.

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few years many Peruvian priests have been as active in working toward reform as their generally more publicized Chilean counterparts. Archbishop Carlos María Jurgens of Cuzco, for example, has been as zealous a land reformer as the cardinal-archbishop of Santiago, Raúl Silva Henríquez;[57] José Dammert Bellido, bishop of Cajamarca in Peru's northern sierra, has been as much the eloquent, dynamic spokesman of social justice[58] as Manuel Larraín, bishop of Talca in south central Chile;[59] Peruvian Jesuit Roméo Luna Victoria has been as extreme in some of his reform demands as Chilean Jesuit Renato Poblete;[60] and Peruvian Catholics have produced a mass of literature advocating reform and modernization that almost matches in quantity and quality similar works published in Chile.[61]

On the whole, churchmen are as much in the vanguard of change in Peru as in Chile. Sometimes their pronouncements tend to be less bold than those of Chile's clergymen, and it may be true that the vanguard has

[57] The contributions of Jurgens to Peruvian land reform are described in *Vanguardia,* a Lima weekly, Apr. 15, 1963. The Church's role in Chilean land reform is skillfully explained by William C. Thiesenhusen, "Chilean Agrarian Reform: The Possibility of Gradualist Turnover of Land," *Inter-American Economic Affairs,* XX (Summer 1966), and "Chile's Experiments in Agrarian Reform" (Madison, 1965, an unpublished study for the University of Wisconsin's Land Tenure Center).

[58] For the advanced social position taken by Dammert Bellido, see his "Orientación para la acción de la Iglesia," *El Amigo del Clero,* Nos. 1610–12 (July, Aug., Sept. 1959), 275–94.

[59] The late Manuel Larraín explains his progressive views in *La hora de la acción católica* (Santiago de Chile, 1956) and *La Iglesia ante el problema social* (Santiago de Chile, 1941).

[60] The views of Chile's reform-minded Jesuits are found in the excellent Santiago periodical *Mensaje,* founded by Father Hurtado.

[61] A few of the more significant works concerned with the new attitudes of the Church in Peru toward social justice include: *Carta pastorial del episcopada peruana sobre algunos aspectos de la cuestión social en el Perú* (Lima, 1958); "Discurso . . . de . . . Monseñor Juan Landázuri Ricketts," *El Amigo del Clero,* Nos. 1610–12 (July, Aug., Sept. 1959), esp. 213–14, an important declaration of the cardinal-archbishop of Lima; *Política deber cristiano* (Lima, 1963), a collection of essays by V. A. Belaúnde *et al.;* Primera Semana Social, *Exigencias sociales del catolicismo en el Perú* (Lima, 1959); and Ricardo Talavera Campos, "El pensamiento católico acerca de la propiedad," the winning essay in a contest sponsored by the Catholic University in Lima to honor Pope John XXIII's encyclical *Mater et Magistra* and published in abbreviated form in the Lima periodical *Mensajero Agrícola,* No. 161 (Aug., Sept. 1963). The new spirit of Catholic leaders is also reflected in the literature of Peru's Christian Democratic party. (See the works of party leader Héctor Cornejo Chávez, *Con los pobres de América* [Lima, 1962], *Nuevos principios para un nuevo Perú* [Lima, 1960], and *Que se propone la democracia cristiana* [Lima, 1962].) Also useful are two works by important members of the Christian Democratic party, Alfonso Benavides Correa, *Rumbos contemporáneos del pensamiento político: Ensayos de interpretación de las corrientes ideológicas y regímenes políticos en su perfil teórico y operancia real* (Lima, 1957), and *La democracia cristiana y América Latina: Testimonios de una posición social revolucionaria,* comp. Lino Rodríguez-Arias Bustamante (Lima, 1961). Although Peru's Christian Democratic party, originating as a rather localized movement in the traditionally devout southern city of Arequipa, does not enjoy mass support, it has wielded influence beyond its true strength because of its alliance with *Acción Popular,* the party of President Belaúnde who has been in office since 1963. One reason for Christian Democracy's lack of formidable strength in Peru may be that the movement's ideology was originally borrowed from Europe and then adapted by the intellectuals of Latin American countries that do not have a large, unassimilated Indian population. *Acción Popular,* an indigenous Peruvian reform party, has accorded special attention to the Indian problem, and thus its program is more suitable and directly applicable to local circumstances than that of Christian Democracy. The converse of this situation was evident in the 1930's when Peruvians, in spite of the zealous efforts of many, were unable to export *Aprismo,* with its apparent stress on the Indian problem, to Chile.

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advanced less in Peru than in Chile. But this is because the *de facto* backwardness at the present moment, according to Western criteria at least, of the Indians who constitute some 40 per cent of the Peruvian populace and the glaring lack of technically trained specialists make social change more complex and difficult to achieve than in the more racially integrated and better-educated republic to the south.

Both in Peru and Chile there are abundant indications that the leading spokesmen of the Catholic Church no longer look toward a bipolar balance of power within the body politic, as so many of them did as recently as the 1920's and 1930's when espousing fascism. They recognize that a variety of new forces, of autonomous and semiautonomous groups, have come into being and that the development toward political, social, and functional interest group, and even religious pluralism, cannot be reversed. Although some priests in the two countries and even a bishop here and there cling nostalgically to the same political and social convictions upon which their nineteenth-century predeccessors often acted, they have come to be recognized both in lay and clerical circles as extremist rather than representative figures of the contemporary Church.

In spite of the differences in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century history, the more influential churchmen both of Peru and Chile have, as of the 1960's, arrived at positions within the national structures that have more in common than in contrast. Not buffeted by intransigent foes who wished with revolutionary haste to stamp out all vestiges of its influence and enjoying a reasonably favored position within the established order, the Church leaders of Peru have tended more and more to pronounce in favor of social change. At the same time the Church has reacquired a respected intellectual position. In Chile, while subjected sometimes to the whims of revolutionary reformers who wanted to alter radically and suddenly its traditional status, the Church today is also the champion of reform. And Chilean clergymen, though they must carefully refrain from open political intervention, probably enjoy greater respect and are capable of wielding more intellectual influence than at any time since the mid-nineteenth century.

One conclusion to be drawn is that in spite of the prevalence of contrary opinion as much is accomplished in Latin America through the attempt to find consensus as through the waging of revolution. Perhaps there is a moral in the fragment of history sketched in this article, which should be considered by men both in this country and the republics to the south who urge revolutionary and doctrinaire panaceas for the current problems of Latin America.

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The Serbian Campaign of 1915: Its Diplomatic Background

GERARD E. SILBERSTEIN*

THE successful assault on Serbia by the Central Powers in the fall of 1915 resulted from a detailed series of diplomatic negotiations not heretofore described by scholars concerned with World War I. The pivot of these negotiations was Bulgaria; without Bulgarian participation in the war, a Serbian campaign could not have been launched. The currently available German and Austrian Foreign Ministry documents show that Bulgaria's commitment to action was realized only after Germany and Austria met its demands for inordinate territorial concessions, the fullest implications of which were well understood by the negotiating powers. The documents also demonstrate that these concessions were granted because of pressures brought to bear upon German and Austrian diplomatic leaders by their respective military chiefs of staff and that in the process the two states ended not only by clashing on basic policy and its implementation, but also by being forced to patch together a Turkish-Bulgarian understanding to Bulgaria's benefit and to Turkey's dissatisfaction.[1]

Bulgaria's willingness to enter the war on the side of the Central Powers in August 1915 was not merely the result of the highly favorable military position of Germany and Austria on the eastern front at that time. The Bulgarian attitude reflected long and patient diplomatic negotiations over a period of twelve months. In the year prior to the war serious diplomatic talks had taken place, notably between Vienna and Sofia, concerning an accord that would have made Bulgaria a formal member of the Triple

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[1] The best brief accounts of negotiations leading to Bulgarian participation in the Serbian campaign are found in the following: Richard von Mach, *Aus Bewegter Balkanzeit 1879–1918* (Berlin, 1928); Carl Mühlmann, *Oberste Heeresleitung und Balkan im Weltkrieg 1914–1918* (Berlin, 1942); Vasil Radoslavov, *Bulgarien und die Weltkriese* (Berlin, 1923); Gerhard Ritter, *Staatskunst und Kriegshandwerk* (3 vols., Munich, 1954–64), III. None of these offer the complete story. Mach and Mühlmann did not have access to all documents, while Radoslavov did not choose to present a full account from the Bulgarian side. The extensive nature of Ritter's work does not allow for a minute investigation of the Balkan States during the war. For a detailed account of the negotiations between the German and Austrian chiefs of staff on the Bulgarian question, see Gerard E. Silberstein, "The Serbian Campaign of 1915: Its Military Implications," *International Review of History and Political Science,* III (Dec. 1966), 116–32.

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Alliance. These conversations failed, however, primarily because of German reluctance to accept Bulgaria as an ally. Aside from Kaiser Wilhelm's distrust of the Bulgarian monarch, King Ferdinand, the Wilhelmstrasse hesitated considering a formal arrangement because of the danger of further alienating Rumania, heretofore the fulcrum of German policy in the Balkans. The deterioration in Austro-Serbian relations by July 1914, nevertheless, finally caused Berlin to accept strong Austrian proposals to obtain Bulgarian alignment. Negotiations for an agreement, at an advanced stage by the beginning of August, soon bogged down, becoming protracted and complicated.[2]

On August 6, 1914, Austria, with German concurrence, submitted a draft for the desired treaty of alliance to the Bulgarian government. It required that Bulgaria recognize the *casus foederis* as existing in the case of Austria-Hungary's being attacked without provocation by a state bordering on Bulgaria. In return Austria agreed to support Bulgarian claims to Balkan areas to which the Bulgars had historic and ethnic rights. One of these was Serbian Macedonia, which had been acquired by the Serbs as a result of the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913. If Bulgaria accepted these clauses, the treaty would be followed by a military convention between the respective governments concerning cooperation of their armies.[3]

On August 5, Leopold Berchtold, the Austrian Foreign Minister, had telegraphed Ambassador Adam Tarnowski in Sofia that it was "of the *greatest* importance that the signing of our agreement with Bulgaria take place immediately."[4] His eagerness reflected a desire to send Bulgarian troops against Serbia so that Austrian forces on the Serbian front could be transferred to the Galician theater where they were needed against the Rus-

[2] Luigi Albertini, *The Origins of the War of 1914* (3 vols., London, 1957), I, 450; Balkanicus [pseud.], *The Aspirations of Bulgaria* (London, 1915), 132–33, 143–44; Harry Howard, *The Partition of Turkey* (Norman, Okla., 1931), 61; Dimitri Jotzoff, *Zar Ferdinand von Bulgarien: Sein Lebenswerk im Orient* (Berlin, 1927), 271; *Die Deutschen Dokumente zum Kriegsausbruch*, ed. Karl Kautsky (4 vols., Charlottenburg, 1919), Nos. 13–15; *Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik. Von der Bosnischen Krise 1908 bis zum Kriegsausbruch 1914* (8 vols., Vienna, 1930), VI, Nos. 6857, 6858, 6860; *ibid.*, VIII, Nos. 10171, 10310, 10389; Hans Madol, *Ferdinand von Bulgaria* (Berlin, 1931), 154, 157, 171–72, 182. For the immediate negotiations in early August 1914, see Ambassador Gustav Michahelles in Sofia to Berlin, Aug. 3, 1914, German Foreign Ministry Archives [hereafter cited as GFMA], University of California Microfilm Collection, Ser. II, reel 12, No. 90; Berlin to Michahelles, Aug. 4, 1914, *ibid.*, No. 211; Michahelles to Berlin, Aug. 4, 5, 1914, *ibid.*, Nos. 46, 52; Ambassador Adam Tarnowski in Sofia to Vienna, Aug. 2, 1914, Austria, Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Politisches Archiv [hereafter cited as Staatsarchiv, PA], carton 513, No. 438; *Count Leopold* Berchtold to Tarnowski, Aug. 5, 1914, *ibid.*, Nos. 218, 219; Tarnowski to Berchtold, Aug. 5, 4, 1914, *ibid.*, Nos. 477, 455, 462.

[3] Tarnowski to Berchtold, Aug. 4, 1914, *ibid.*, No. 464; copy of treaty draft, *ibid.*, No. 3790; Gottlieb von Jagow, German Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to Michahelles, Aug. 1, 1914, GFMA, Ser. II, reel 12, No. 43.

[4] Berchtold to Tarnowski, Aug. 5, 1914, Staatsarchiv, PA, carton 513, No. 218.

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sians. Conrad von Hötzendorf, the Austrian chief of staff, had urgently requested the Ballplatz to come to his aid in this matter, but the diplomats found they could not help him. It was one thing to submit a draft and quite another to have it accepted by the Bulgarian government, which now began a policy of caution based on shrewd calculation of the situation. Bulgaria's position was a difficult one, to say the least. If Bulgaria went to war against the Serbs, it meant immediate conflict with Russia; the Russians had left no doubt of this. Greece had refused to grant Bulgaria a continuation of its recently declared neutrality and let it be known that it would support its treaty obligations to Serbia if the Bulgarians should mobilize against that state. In spite of a hostile Russia and Greece, Sofia might have taken the plunge if it had not been for Rumania and Turkey. By mid-August Tarnowski was writing to the Ballplatz:

> We cannot move Bulgaria without Turkey and Rumania being absolutely secure where Bulgaria must count on a war declaration by Russia and Greece. While the Bulgarians would like to complete understandings with Rumania and Turkey, they see these as difficult to obtain, and the German ambassador is of the same impression.[5]

Both Germany and Austria, therefore, worked feverishly to bring about a Bulgarian-Turkish understanding, and on August 19 an alliance was indeed signed. The agreement stated that each would respect the other's territories, give assistance if the other were attacked by one or more Balkan States, and undertake no action against any Balkan country without previous arrangement. Most important, however, was an article declaring that Bulgaria would undertake no action in conjunction with Turkey unless Bulgaria were assured against Rumania, either by a Turkish-Bulgarian-Rumanian accord or by special arrangement between Bulgaria and Rumania concerning the issue of neutrality.[6]

The terms of the Bulgarian-Turkish alliance were clear. If Bulgaria should join the Central Powers in their conflict with Serbia, Bulgaria would be protected by Turkey from an attack on its rear. But the alliance would remain inoperative unless an arrangement could be made with Rumania,

[5] Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf to Berchtold, Aug. 2, 1914, *ibid.*, carton 516, folio 7A, unnumbered letter; Conrad to Berchtold, Aug. 24, 1914, *ibid.*, carton 499, No. 305; Berchtold to Conrad, Aug. 24, 1914, *ibid.*, unnumbered telegram; Tarnowski to Berchtold, Aug. 12, 13, 5, 16, 1914, *ibid.*, carton 512, Nos. 555, 561, 471, 582; Ambassador Hans von Wangenheim in Constantinople to Berlin, Aug. 8, 1914, GFMA, Ser. II, reel 12, No. 457; Heinrich von Tschirschky, ambassador in Vienna, to Berlin, Aug. 9, 1914, *ibid.*, No. 208; Tschirschky to Berlin, Aug. 10, 1914, *ibid.*, No. 213; Albert Quadt, ambassador in Athens, to Berlin, Aug. 11, 12, 1914, *ibid.*, Nos. 274, 279; Michahelles to Berlin, Aug. 6, 14, 1914, *ibid.*, Nos. 52, AS 1811.

[6] Wangenheim to Berlin, Aug. 15, 1914, *ibid.*, No. 505; Michahelles to Berlin, Aug. 20, 1914, *ibid.*, No. 84; Tarnowski to Berchtold, Aug. 20, 1914, Staatsarchiv, PA, carton 512, No. 608.

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offering Sofia concrete assurances of Rumanian neutrality. It was precisely this last condition that in the end made the alliance inoperative. When sounded, Bucharest proved willing to offer assurances, but only of an oral nature. Ion Bratianu, the Rumanian Prime Minister, declared that any signed treaty with Bulgaria would mean the hostility of Russia, a risk that his government was not willing to take. Rumania had declared itself neutral and therefore did not wish to side with one of the power groups. Bratianu declared, nevertheless, that Rumania would not hinder Bulgarian action against Serbia, and King Carol went so far as to authorize the Austrian ambassador, Count Ottokar Czernin, to inform the Bulgarian King that he could count on Rumanian neutrality if such an action occurred. The Rumanian representative in Sofia was instructed at the same time to say that Rumania would be benevolently neutral, but his statement was to remain oral; Rumania refused to put things in writing. By August 30 the diplomatic problem had not been solved. With no precisely defined relationship between Rumania and Bulgaria, Sofia refused to sign a treaty of alliance with Germany and Austria.[7]

Although Germany's ambassador, Gustav Michahelles, scornfully criticized King Ferdinand for his caution, declaring him to be "fearful and completely unmilitary," the monarch was clever and perceptive, revealing himself as a wily diplomatic opponent. Ferdinand recognized that he could now afford to wait and bargain since the military situation, particularly with regard to Austrian performance in the field, was hardly promising by the end of August 1914. The tide of battle on the eastern front had already turned in favor of the Russians, while in Serbia nothing of any real military worth had been accomplished by Conrad's troops. Tarnowski summed up the situation well when he wrote on August 24:

> I cannot hide the truth that because of the checks we have had militarily our position here is suffering. We are no longer regarded as protectors but are seen as desirous of Bulgarian aid out of which will accrue to us a final victory.
>
> My advance is now much more difficult. I can now only coyly raise questions with respect to the Bulgarian action against Serbia. . . .
>
> The trust of the Bulgarian government in my counsel and word can scarcely have been deepened in these last days. I have given too many assurances that have not come about.[8]

[7] Tarnowski to Berchtold, Aug. 20, 21, 1914, *ibid.*, Nos. 610, 620; Michahelles to Berlin, Aug. 21, 1914, GFMA, Ser. II, reel 12, No. 86; Julius von Waldthausen, ambassador in Bucharest, to Berlin, Aug. 21, 1914, *ibid.*, No. 165; Tschirschky to Berlin, Aug. 22, 1914, *ibid.*, No. 304; Waldthausen to Berlin, Aug. 29, 30, 1914, *ibid.*, Nos. 205, 213.

[8] Michahelles to Berlin, Aug. 23, 1914, *ibid.*, No. 97; Tarnowski to Berchtold, Aug. 24, 1914, Staatsarchiv, PA, carton 512, No. 646; for the military situation at the end of August,

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Thus began a period of bargaining that continued month after month. Bulgaria's policy was no longer one of negotiating on the basis of territorial concessions for participation in the war; it had shifted to one of demanding territories in return for the mere assurance of continued neutrality. In November and December 1914 the government felt that Bulgarian strength ought not to be played out then, but, rather, should be used to good effect *after* Serbia had been defeated. To the wry observation of the Austrian ambassador that Bulgarian aid would be worthless when the war was over, Sofia turned a deaf ear. Vasil Radoslavov, the Bulgarian Minister-President, moreover, went so far as to demand a written guarantee of Bulgaria's right to acquire, after the war, all of the kingdom of Serbia to which Bulgaria possessed historic and ethnic rights and which, by that time, should have been occupied by Bulgarian troops. Such an occupation would seem to have implied Bulgarian participation in the war, but the time and manner of the occupation were in no way defined. Radoslavov had offered nothing by way of a precise commitment. Even while making territorial demands, he continued to maintain Bulgaria's freedom of choice. Although initially neither Germany nor Austria appeared willing to accept these terms, the written guarantee was presented on January 4, 1915. The concessions were granted with the hope they might soften Bulgaria's attitude and lead to its active collaboration. In addition, since the *Entente* was also negotiating with Sofia by this time, the guarantee was intended to reduce the possibility that Bulgaria would join the enemy camp.[9]

During the winter months of 1915 the Central Powers resigned themselves to continued Bulgarian neutrality. Count Stephan Burián, who replaced Berchtold as Austrian Foreign Minister in January 1915, was unperturbed, believing neutrality could be beneficial to the cause of the Central Powers. The Bulgarian position kept a certain number of Rumanian troops occupied with watching the common border, and so long as they were uncertain as to what King Ferdinand would do, the Rumanians would not enter the war on the side of the *Entente* for fear of a possible Bulgarian attack. In so far as the Austrian war effort was concerned, Bulgarian neutrality

see C.R.M.F. Crutwell, *A History of the Great War* (Oxford, Eng., 1934), 52; Winston Churchill, *The Unknown War: The Eastern Front* (London, 1931), 147, 151, 157, 130.

[9] Tarnowski to Berchtold, Nov. 19, Dec. 9, 7, 1914, Staatsarchiv, PA, carton 872, Nos. 1176, 1312, 1301; Berchtold to Tarnowski, Dec. 9, 1914, *ibid.*, No. 914; Gottfried von Hohenlohe, ambassador in Berlin, to Berchtold, Dec. 10, 1914, *ibid.*, No. 768; Tarnowski to Berchtold, Dec. 11, 12, 1914, *ibid.*, Nos. 1325, 1328; Hohenlohe to Berchtold, Dec. 15, 17, 1914, *ibid.*, Nos. 768, 773; Berchtold to Tarnowski, Dec. 19, 31, 1914, *ibid.*, Nos. 766, 792; Tarnowski to Berchtold, Jan. 4, 6, 1915, *ibid.*, Nos. 16, 22; Michahelles to Berlin, Dec. 17, 1914, GFMA, Ser. II, reel 12, No. 296. For a detailed discussion of the *Entente* negotiations, see C. Jay Smith, Jr., *The Russian Struggle for Power, 1914–1917* (New York, 1956), 142–58.

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at this moment did not mean a setback. The Serbian campaign had been at a standstill since the Austrian defeat in the previous December. Burián understood the Bulgarian scene very well indeed, having served as ambassador to Sofia between 1886 and 1895. He correctly foresaw that "Bulgaria will come in at what she judges the appropriate moment."[10]

Burián's calmness notwithstanding, the position of Bulgaria soon became critically important. Once the *Entente* began its attack on the Dardanelles, Bulgarian assistance against the Serbs was more necessary than ever, in order to relieve the beleaguered Turkish ally. Since the beginning of the war the supply lines to Turkey had been closed. The railroad routes led from Budapest through Rumania and through the Serbian cities of Belgrade and Niš. On the basis of their neutrality, the Rumanians refused through passage of war materials bound for Turkey, and the success of the Serbian army against the Austrians made shipment through Belgrade impossible. The route of the Danube was also unavailable because Serbian guns were carefully trained on that section of the river constituting the northern border of the country.[11]

As the month of March wore on, Berlin began a new diplomatic campaign to engage the Bulgarians actively. The basis for renewed pressure was the decision by the German chief of staff, Erich von Falkenhayn, that the supply problem would have to be solved if Turkey were to be kept in the war. Thus the Serbian campaign was now definitely required, but unfortunately the German Army, because of heavy troop commitments on the western and eastern fronts, could not handle such a campaign alone. Conrad agreed to the necessity of action against Serbia, but with the unconditional proviso that Bulgaria cooperate in the undertaking.[12] On March 26, therefore, Falkenhayn sent the military attaché in Constantinople, Colonel von Leipzig, to Sofia with the orders:

> Go immediately to Sofia for a few days, and on the basis of your acquaintance with the King and leading men there, try to convince them it is to Bulgaria's own interest that it should share with us and Austria an action against Serbia and not wait until we have arranged the matter.[13]

[10] Ministerial Protocol, Feb. 3, 1915, Staatsarchiv, PA, carton 312; Stephan Burián, *Austria in Dissolution* (London, 1925), 134.

[11] Carl Mühlmann, *Das Deutsch-Türkische Waffenbundnis im Weltkrieg* (Leipzig, 1940), map No. 2, the Balkan railroad system; *id., Oberste Heeresleitung,* 65, 72–73, 99–100; Ulrich Trumpener, "German Military Aid to Turkey in 1914: An Historical Re-evaluation," *Journal of Modern History,* XXXII (June 1960), 148–49.

[12] Falkenhayn to Conrad, Mar. 21, 1915, Austria, Kriegsarchiv, Conrad-Falkenhayn Korrespondenz, *Balkan,* No. 617-01-b; Conrad to Falkenhayn, Mar. 22, 29, 1915, *ibid.,* Nos. 8273, 8533.

[13] Karl von Treutler, Foreign Office representative at German Headquarters, to Berlin, Mar. 28, 1915, GFMA, Ser. II, reel 13, No. 223.

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Gottlieb von Jagow, the German Foreign Secretary, struck by the naïveté of the instructions, explained to Falkenhayn that while the German General Staff wanted Bulgaria in the fight as soon as possible, more than a mere military agreement was necessary. Bulgaria would not move without political promises being made; the issue of those political promises was still being debated two months later in May.[14]

The documents show that during April and May and thereafter it was the Wilhelmstrasse that seized the initiative in the Bulgarian question. Germany, now that the Dardanelles campaign was in full swing, wanted desperately to obtain Bulgarian participation in the war and proved willing to bid very high in order to get it. Berlin let it be known that if Bulgaria agreed to join the Central Powers, Germany would go far beyond the earlier offer of those areas of Serbian Macedonia to which Bulgaria held some claim. Germany was willing to guarantee parts of old Serbia per se that "neither belonged to Bulgaria ethnographically nor historically, nor were occupied by Bulgarian troops." When asked how Austria felt about such a concession, Burián strongly protested the idea of granting the Bulgars Serbian areas to which they had no claim and which might involve "the further destinies of Austria-Hungary." The Austrians were clearly taking a much more cautious line than their ally.[15]

Because Jagow seemed willing to raise the stake, and because the *Entente* was now making big offers, the Bulgarians executed a bold move. On May 9 Radoslavov dropped a bombshell in the form of a declaration draft that the Central Powers were to sign. In return for the maintenance of its neutrality, Bulgaria was to be guaranteed the possession of *all* the contested and uncontested zones of Macedonia, as those areas had been delineated by the Bulgarian-Serbian Treaty of Alliance of 1912. In short, Bulgaria was after the whole eastern half of Macedonia. The guarantee was to be valid whether or not the areas were occupied by Bulgarian troops at the conclusion of hostilities. In addition, Bulgaria was to be guaranteed parts of territories in the possession of Rumania and of Greece by virtue of the Treaty of Bucharest of 1913, if those states entered the war against the Central Powers. Here the aim of the Bulgarians was the occupation of the Dobruja and Salonika.[16]

[14] Jagow to Falkenhayn, Apr. 1, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 248.

[15] Foreign Office Report by Jagow, Apr. 8, 1915, *ibid.*, No. AS 1524; Hohenlohe to Burián, Apr. 8, 1915, Staatsarchiv, PA, carton 513, No. 28/P; Burián to Hohenlohe, Apr. 13, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 307.

[16] Tarnowski to Burián, May 11, 1915, *ibid.*, carton 872, No. 464; Michahelles to Berlin, May 9, 1915, GFMA, Ser. II, reel 13, No. 63; for a detailed examination of the Bulgarian-Serbian alliance of 1912, see E. C. Helmreich, *The Diplomacy of the Balkan Wars, 1912–1913*

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Again, as it turned out, Germany was willing to meet these demands, although Bulgaria had not promised its entry into the conflict. The German policy was based on a calculated risk because Michahelles expressed his conviction that as soon as the Central Powers began an attack on Serbia, the Bulgarians would join them. In fact, by this time Falkenhayn had lost his patience and was pressing his diplomatic counterparts to get something done. On May 18 he wired the Wilhelmstrasse that he wanted an answer from Bulgaria in forty-eight hours, and it was up to the Foreign Office to get that answer. He was willing to mount a Serbian campaign if Bulgaria definitely agreed to take part, and, for its participation, he was willing to make every military concession. He therefore recommended that all political problems be immediately cleared away. German troops could not enter Serbia unless Austria helped. Without Bulgaria's specific promise to aid, Conrad would not commit his own forces.[17]

The German Foreign Office was beset with problems. The high command was pressing for a precise commitment from Sofia, Bulgaria was demanding concessions in return for continued neutrality, and now the Austrians had become a balking ally. Burián refused to go along with the Bulgarian insistence on a territorial guarantee; he declared that a clear distinction must be made between offers for participation and offers for neutrality. It was, he said, "too much to ask that we . . . pursue the war further only for the purpose of providing Bulgaria with enlargement of its territories without equivalents."[18] But Burián gave way before the entreaties of Jagow, who pointed to the increasing offers being made to Bulgaria by the *Entente* and to the deteriorating situation with respect to Italy, which obviously was about to join the enemy. The Central Powers simply had to obtain Bulgaria. On May 21 the declaration of guarantee was submitted by Michahelles and Tarnowski; Radoslavov received all he asked for.[19]

Yet even this openhanded approach did not work. Ferdinand and Radoslavov hardly cared whether Falkenhayn tapped his foot impatiently. On May 22 the King announced that he would sign no alliance; he would send no officer to meet with Falkenhayn, who was ready to go to Budapest for

(Cambridge, Mass., 1938), 36–68; Edward C. Thaden, *Russia and the Balkan Alliance of 1912* (University Park, Pa., 1965), 58–98.

[17] Michahelles to Berlin, May 9, 1915, GFMA, Ser. II, reel 13, No. 63; Treutler to Berlin, May 18, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 60; Jagow to Michahelles, May 19, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 394; Falkenhayn to Theobald Bethmann Hollweg, Chancellor, May 17, 20, 1915, *ibid.*, unnumbered telegram, No. 67.

[18] Burián to Hohenlohe, May 13, 1915, Staatsarchiv, PA, carton 872, No. 423; Jagow to Tschirschky, May 14, 1915, GFMA, Ser. II, reel 13, No. 320.

[19] Jagow to Tschirschky, May 14, 1915, *ibid.*; Michahelles to Berlin, May 28, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 76; Burián to Tarnowski, May 18, 1915, Staatsarchiv, PA, carton 872, No. 227.

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military conferences with a Bulgarian representative; and he would not enter the war. Sofia had been impressed by the recent smashing successes of the Central Powers against Russia in Galicia, but the expected Italian declaration of war on the side of the *Entente* gave the Bulgarian government pause.[20]

A few days later Burián summarized the situation by saying that since the opening of the war the attempts of the Central Powers had been practically without results and had led only to "delays, new terms, new demands, on which entry was made dependent." Only one thing seemed clear: Bulgaria was determined to participate against Serbia only after Germany and Austria had actually begun operations, and even on this the Central Powers had merely oral assurances. It was therefore apparent to the Foreign Minister that previous methods concerning Bulgaria would have to be changed. The Central Powers could not initiate an operation against Serbia in which Bulgarian aid would be crucial to success without knowing for sure "if and when this cooperation would actually come." Burián instructed Tarnowski to consider the matter with Radoslavov, telling him that "we must know precisely from which day on, where, and in what strength we can count on the Bulgarian offensive." Tarnowski was to discuss "ways and means for a political and military operation that could be realized practically and without further delay."[21] The ambassador faithfully carried out his orders, but his efforts obtained nothing. Perhaps, said Radoslavov, he could say more in a short while, but he could not now discuss the question of open cooperation, and therefore Bulgaria would still have to remain neutral.[22]

On June 1 Berlin and Vienna received news that threw them into near panic. Radoslavov informed them that the *Entente* had made a very generous offer: both zones in Macedonia, a new border delineation in Thrace (which would give Bulgaria Adrianople and push its control in Thrace much further south), the city of Kavalla, diplomatic support for the Bulgarian acquisition of the Rumanian Dobruja, and financial aid. The price was to be a Bulgarian attack on Turkey. Michahelles and Tarnowski, who both calmly analyzed this attempt, asserted that the *Entente* would not be effective. They were proved right, since, when Radoslavov replied to the proposal by asking for more precise details, the *Entente* was unable and unwilling to offer anything further. The danger of Bulgaria's successful enticement by the enemy, therefore, did not materialize.[23]

[20] Tarnowski to Burián, May 21, 22, 1915, *ibid.*, Nos. 501, 506; Michahelles to Berlin, May 28, 1915, GFMA, Ser. II, reel 13, No. 76.

[21] Burián to Tarnowski, May 26, 1915, Staatsarchiv, PA, carton 513, No. 243.

[22] Tarnowski to Burián, May 28, 1915, *ibid.*, Nos. 545, 546.

[23] Tarnowski to Burián, June 1, 1915, *ibid.*, carton 872, No. 572; Michahelles to Berlin,

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The Central Powers felt that they were getting nowhere, but in actuality the denouement had been reached. Six weeks after Radoslavov responded to the *Entente* proposition, King Ferdinand agreed to send a Bulgarian to German headquarters to draw up a military convention. There were four reasons for this move, which was to constitute a prelude to a binding alliance. First of all, the Central Powers, true to Tarnowski's predictions, were able to go further than their enemies in paying the price for Bulgarian services. As early as the previous November the Austrian ambassador had understood that in the Bulgarian diplomatic market the Central Powers had the advantage. As to the *Entente,* he wrote to Berchtold, "they cannot overbid us. Serbia will not make territorial concessions nor will Greece. This guarantees us against the success of our enemies' intrigues."[24] His estimate of the situation proved accurate, for on July 23 Michahelles could report that no answer had been given by *Entente* representatives to Radoslavov's inquiries for precise detail on the offers recently made to him. It was therefore clear to Sofia that Berlin and Vienna could best satisfy Bulgarian ambitions.[25]

Second, the war against Russia on the eastern front had been going well. On June 19 the German ambassador told Sofia that the victory over the Russians in Galicia "was as good as done." The remark was underscored when Lvov, the key city of Galicia, fell to German troops under General Anton Mackensen's expert leadership. The great fear that Bulgaria had demonstrated concerning the Russian military menace now seemed much reduced. Tarnowski managed, furthermore, to excite Bulgarian interest when, having received Burián's consent to a small ruse in late June, he intimated to Radoslavov that Austria had decided on a Serbian campaign without regard to Bulgarian cooperation. The whole thing, he said, had been kept a military secret, but if the Minister-President had been willing to initiate talks through military representatives, the Bulgarians would long ago have known of the plans of the Dual Monarchy. It was obvious to Radoslavov that if such a campaign came off successfully, one of Bulgaria's great levers in effective bargaining would be eliminated. His attitude was clearly shown in his answer: previously, he said, such talks had been impossible, but the situation was now different.[26]

June 1, 1915, GFMA, Ser. II, reel 13, No. 259; Jagow to Michahelles, June 1, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 462; Michahelles to Berlin, June 15, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 177; Burián to Tarnowski, June 1, 1915, Staatsarchiv, PA, carton 872, No. 272; Tarnowski to Burián, June 17, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 648. Radoslavov's request for details included such precise questions as how far the hinterland of Kavalla would reach and what the basis would be for the solution of the Dobruja question with Rumania.

[24] Tarnowski to Berchtold, Nov. 29, 1914, *ibid.*, No. 1247.

[25] Michahelles to Berlin, July 23, 1915, GFMA, Ser. II, reel 14, No. 387.

[26] Tarnowski to Burián, June 19, 24, 1915, Staatsarchiv, PA, carton 872, Nos. 663, 693;

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Third, since May Bulgaria and Turkey had once again been engaged in serious negotiations directed at formal agreement, and once again these were supported by Berlin and Vienna. By August it was clear that the Turks would be disposed to a border rectification in Thrace to the advantage of Bulgaria. The Turkish price for a border that appealed to Sofia was, as before, Bulgaria's commitment in the war.[27]

Fourth, and finally, an important financial consideration colored Sofia's attitude. The Bulgars knew that the option on a large loan agreed to by the Central Powers in July 1914 was scheduled to be picked up on August 1, 1915, and that a payment of 120,000,000 francs was due. Bulgaria needed not only an extension, but a new loan.[28]

In short, the diplomatic, military, and financial scene in the summer of 1915 revealed an obvious fact: it was now in Bulgaria's interest to conclude binding obligations with Germany and Austria-Hungary, including participation in a Serbian campaign.

The final negotations, ending in a definite Bulgarian commitment, took place on three different levels: conversations between the Bulgarian military representative, Colonel Peter Gantscheff, and Falkenhayn that resulted in a military convention; diplomatic bargaining between German, Austrian, and Bulgarian diplomats that ended with an alliance and an attached secret annex; and Bulgarian-Turkish discussions that brought about a new border arrangement between the two states in Thrace. Between Gantscheff's arrival at Pless, the German headquarters, on August 3 and the final signature of the military convention, over a month elapsed. This amount of time was necessary not so much because of the military problems but rather because the Bulgarians made the convention hinge on the simultaneous completion of the alliance and the annex. The military and foreign offices, therefore, found themselves working in tandem to obtain Bulgarian participation. The diplomats had the more difficult job since the maneuvering proved extensive and nerve racking.

When Gantscheff arrived at Pless, he presented much more than strictly military terms. Bulgaria wanted a new loan of 200,000,000 francs, immediate cession of the Greek-controlled Macedonian cities of Ceres and Kavalla if Greece mobilized, the recognition of Bulgaria's claim to all of Macedonia, and the largest area possible in northeastern Serbia.[29] These demands were,

Burián to Tarnowski, June 25, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 323; Tarnowski to Burián, June 25, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 702.

[27] Wagenheim to Berlin, July 19, 1915, GFMA, Ser. II, reel 14, No. 1625; dispatches between Johann Pallavicini, Austrian ambassador in Constantinople, and Burián during May, June, and July 1915, Staatsarchiv, PA, carton 873.

[28] Tarnowski to Burián, July 30, Aug. 4, 1915, *ibid.*, carton 872, Nos. 68/P, 855.

[29] Hohenlohe to Burián, Aug. 5, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 73 A-D/P; Treutler to Berlin, Aug. 3, 7, 1915, GFMA, Ser. II, reel 14, Nos. 259, 273.

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of course, turned over immediately to the Wilhelmstrasse and the Ballplatz for consideration since they were outside the jurisdiction of the chiefs of staff. The initial reaction of both Berlin and Vienna was positive. Things went well enough at Pless, and on August 10 Gantscheff hurried back to Sofia to confer with his government. Berlin, meanwhile, eager to get the Serbian campaign going, instructed Michahelles to say that if Bulgaria wanted an alliance (something that Gantscheff's terms had not really requested, but only hinted at) then Germany was ready to sign such an accord. In short, the Germans were prepared to go as far as they must in order to obtain the Bulgarian commitment.[30]

The Austrians, ever aware of the repercussions that a formal alliance might have on their relations with the Balkan States in general, looked with great distaste upon such an agreement. At the beginning of July Burián had written to Tarnowski stating that "a wish for an alliance or a need for an alliance does not exist on our side." His goal was Bulgarian military cooperation; for this purpose he was willing to sign a convention, but hardly wished to go further unless it was absolutely essential. Jagow had received Burián's views on the matter through the Austrian representative in Berlin, Gottfried von Hohenlohe, and he attempted to smooth things over with the ruffled Foreign Minister by agreeing that the Austrian position was correct. While he admitted that perhaps it was not desirable to press heavily for such an alliance, he did not see how they could avoid one. Tarnowski, attempting to carry out his orders, did what he could to minimize considerations of a formal accord in Sofia, but his German colleague continued to raise the issue with Radoslavov in such a way that the latter obtained the impression that the alliance depended merely on Bulgaria's own decision. Tarnowski repeatedly pointed out to Michahelles that it "was basically inept to deepen such an impression," but with no success. During August Germany increased its activities concerning a formal arrangement so that on August 18 Burián was prompted to write a strong message to Berlin, saying, "The insistence with which Herr Michahelles works on the Bulgarians with relation to the alliance does not stand in accord with that of our mutual view."[31]

From the Austrian standpoint the damage had already been done, for when Gantscheff returned to Pless on August 22 he had in his briefcase, aside from the draft of the military convention, a draft of the formal alliance desired by Sofia. Vienna took a consistently melancholy view of the whole

[30] Hohenlohe to Burián, Aug. 10, 1915, Staatsarchiv, PA, carton 872, No. 362; Tarnowski to Burián, Aug. 12, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 893.

[31] Burián to Tarnowski, July 3, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 333; Tarnowski to Burián, July 5, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 741; Hohenlohe to Burián, July 31, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 346; Burián to Hohenlohe, Aug. 18, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 592.

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affair, reiterating its previous stand that the military agreement was desirable but that the alliance could be left for a later date. The Wilhelmstrasse readily admitted that this was true, but, said the Germans, the opening of the way to Constantinople was so important that Bulgarian participation in the war had become crucial. Bulgaria was thoroughly aware of the worth of its military cooperation; furthermore Radoslavov saw the simultaneous signing of the convention and the alliance as a "foregone conclusion." Negotiations could not be protracted any longer, and Bulgaria's wishes, therefore, would have to be met.[32]

Gantscheff's draft of an alliance consisted of fourteen articles. It is significant that even at this late date the Bulgarians had not entirely given up the idea of neutrality. The stipulations declared that the Central Powers would grant to Bulgaria the portion of Macedonia as far west as the Serbian-Greek border, including both the contested and uncontested zones according to the Bulgarian-Serbian alliance of 1912. If Greece participated in the war against the Central Powers, Bulgaria would obtain the Greek holdings east of the Vardar Valley, which meant Bulgarian control of much of Greek Macedonia. If Rumania fought against the Central Powers, Bulgaria would receive those lands ceded to Rumania as a result of the Treaty of Bucharest of 1913, meaning the Dobruja. All of this was to be given to Bulgaria merely for continued neutrality. If Bulgaria took part in the war, moreover, it was to gain in addition the territory in Serbia that had been a portion of the exarchate of Bulgaria before the Treaty of Berlin in 1878. If the Greeks and Rumanians turned hostile, Bulgaria would obtain the areas granted them by the Treaty of Bucharest, and the Bulgarian-Rumanian border was to be rectified to coincide with that also drawn up at Berlin in 1878. All these territories were to be granted regardless of whether they were occupied by Bulgarian troops. If the Albanians proved favorable, a Bulgarian-Albanian union was to be accepted.[33]

That was not all. A secret annex to the alliance draft contained an additional six articles demanding that German and Austrian troops be sent to the Hungarian-Rumanian border to cover Bulgaria's exposure to a possible Rumanian attack. The Central Powers were to provide Bulgaria with such war needs as guns and ammunition, and they were to grant 200,000,000 gold francs for purposes of meeting additional war expenses. Other sums that might be required for similar purposes were also to be provided.[34]

[32] Treutler to Berlin, Aug. 22, 1915, GFMA, Ser. II, reel 14, No. 324; Tschirschky to Berlin, Aug. 24, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 397; Jagow to Tschirschky, Aug. 24, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 487.

[33] Tarnowski to Burián, Aug. 23, 1915, Staatsarchiv, PA, carton 513, No. 77/P; Hohenlohe to Burián, Aug. 24, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 78 B/P.

[34] Tarnowski to Burián, Aug. 23, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 77/P; Hohenlohe to Burián, Aug. 24, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 78 B/P.

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The Bulgarians had finally put all their cards on the table. Even Jagow was staggered. On August 22 he wrote to Michahelles: "Evidently Bulgaria believes the moment to have come when it can demand everything from us." Setting to work promptly, the Wilhelmstrasse restructured the treaty into five short clauses and a secret annex. The alliance was to guarantee Bulgaria against any attack without provocation, be in force for five years, remain secret, and be ratified eight days after signature. The secret annex contained the meat of the territorial concessions to Sofia. For participation in the war Bulgaria would receive the contested and uncontested zones of Serbian Macedonia and the Serbian area formerly belonging to the exarchate. Regarding Greece and Rumania, only in the case where one or both attacked Bulgaria without provocation would Bulgaria be given freedom of action to reclaim territories ceded to them by the Treaty of Bucharest. The 200,000,000 francs would be granted, but only in installments of 50,000,000, beginning when Bulgaria should take action in the field. Berlin, however, eliminated any stipulations on Bulgarian neutrality.[35]

The German government's haste to have the military convention and alliance signed was so great that even before the Austrians were informed of Berlin's modifications, Michahelles was instructed to submit them to Radoslavov. The ambassador carried out the request on August 26, and when Burián heard of it, he wrote an indignant protest to Jagow. The original Bulgarian draft had turned him livid, and he had declared the stipulations to be totally unacceptable; they were to him "unclear, contradictory and dealt almost exclusively with Bulgarian interests." And now the German ally had submitted its revision unilaterally. The Foreign Minister was amazed that such action had been taken, particularly when Austria had to submit an analogous treaty. In order to present the same terms, a previous mutual understanding was absolutely essential. In Berlin, Hohenlohe patiently tried to point out that Austria's interests were more involved with the Balkans than Germany's, which would require Vienna to work with much greater care, but his remarks left no impression. Hohenlohe was told that Falkenhayn was pressing for the conclusion of negotiations, and Michahelles had been instructed to go ahead because delay could not be tolerated.[36]

Once informed of the German counterproposals, Burián proved willing to accept them, but only as an outline for further negotiations. He wanted certain specific changes: The *casus foederis* that would apply to Germany

[35] Jagow to Michahelles, Aug. 22, 1915, *ibid.*, folio 185; Burián to Hohenlohe, Aug. 25, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 603.

[36] Burián to Hohenlohe, Aug. 26, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 606; Hohenlohe to Burián, Aug. 27, 31, 1915, *ibid.*, Nos. 379, 385.

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and Austria if Bulgaria were attacked must be made reciprocal. The term "without provocation" was an absolute essential. The secret annex must be attached to the military convention; otherwise the clauses applying to Rumania and Greece would extend to the entire five-year duration of the alliance, which probably meant beyond the war period. Berlin answered by accepting Burián's remarks on the *casus foederis* and the term "without provocation," but it completely refused to attach the secret annex to the military agreement for fear of disturbing its immediate conclusion. To quiet Burián's fears about the Greek and Rumanian clauses, Jagow was ready to write in "for the duration of the present conflict," but he considered this Austrian worry to be without any basis. Indeed Germany believed the objections raised by its ally to be little more than formalities and continually stressed the urgency of concluding the whole matter. Jagow informed Vienna that Michahelles was ordered to treat with Sofia in simultaneous cooperation with his Austrian colleague, but that the Ballplatz must complete its revisions rapidly. Faced with this kind of attitude, the Austrian ally was forced to formulate terms quickly, and on September 6 the alliance was signed at Sofia.[37]

The military convention came into being on the same day. It called for Germany and Austria to contribute six divisions each, while Bulgaria was obligated to supply four and to take action in the field in thirty-five days, five days after Austria and Germany began the campaign. Thus Bulgaria was committed to supplying 25 per cent of the troops necessary to defeat Serbia. The Germans were careful also to include in the convention a clause that specifically bound the Bulgarians to allow through transit of munitions to the Turkish ally.[38]

A third agreement was signed on September 6, between Bulgaria and Turkey. Since May both Germany and Austria had played a large role in the negotiations between the two states. The Wilhelmstrasse wanted the successful conclusion of an agreement for obvious military reasons. But Vienna's aim went beyond the mere goal of supplying Turkey. If, the Austrians reasoned, Bulgaria and Turkey could be brought together, their cooperation would negate the possibility of Rumania and Greece forsaking their neutrality and attacking the Central Powers. Neither state would move for fear of having to face a Bulgarian-Turkish coalition. Both the German and Austrian ambassadors in Constantinople were instructed to work for

[37] Burián to Hohenlohe, Aug. 26, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 608; Hohenlohe to Burián, Aug. 27, 30, 31, 1915, *ibid.*, Nos. 379, 383, 385. For the verbatim stipulations of the final alliance and secret annex draft, see Radoslavov, *Bulgarien und der Weltkrise*, 188–90.

[38] Treutler to Berlin, Aug. 26, 1915, GFMA, Ser. II, reel 15, No. AS 4506.

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the conclusion of an alliance, but unfortunately negotiations proved extremely difficult. Hans Wangenheim, the German representative, carried out his instructions rather halfheartedly because he did not like the approach. He readily agreed that Bulgarian participation was necessary to defeat Serbia and to clear a passage to Turkey, but this participation, he asserted, would be gained only when Bulgaria was sure of Rumania. In turn, the Rumanians could only be placated by Austrian territorial concessions in Hungarian Transylvania. These concessions were, of course, refused by the Ballplatz simply because the Hungarians would not consider them. Consequently, the key to the whole problem lay not so much in the establishment of a formal agreement between the Turks and Bulgars as it did in the elimination of Magyar intransigence.[39]

The Austrian representative, Johann Pallavicini, was hampered by Wangenheim's attitude and by the opposition he experienced within Turkish officialdom. His suggestion that the Turks consider concessions in Thrace that would establish a border with Bulgaria at the Maritsa River met with Turkish coldness, since this meant exposing Adrianople to Bulgarian attack. It was only after long talks that the Grand Vizier agreed to consider conversations on this basis, provided the Bulgarians agreed to take immediate action in the war. Radoslavov refused to talk of anything but neutrality at this time; he rejected the Maritsa boundary and demanded instead a border much further to the south delineated by a line running between the towns of Enos on the Aegean and Midia on the Black Sea. Such a border would have meant Bulgarian control of Adrianople and made possible a future Bulgarian attack on Constantinople itself. The Grand Vizier declared that if Bulgaria wanted Enos-Midia, it would have to take it; the implication was obvious.[40]

By the end of May negotiations had proved unsuccessful; there was even talk of war between the two states. But Radoslavov, recognizing that Berlin and Vienna saw his demands on Turkey as overextended, took a more elastic view and agreed to consider the Maritsa line.[41]

In spite of this, no agreement was forthcoming, and a diplomatic deadlock persisted until a new assault was launched by the British against the

[39] Jagow to Wangenheim, May 20, 1915, *ibid.*, reel 13, No. 987; Wangenheim to Jagow, May 22, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 1189; Falkenhayn to Bethmann Hollweg, May 20, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 67; Pallavicini to Burián, May 19, 21, 1915, Staatsarchiv, PA, carton 873, Nos. 388, 391; Burián to Pallavicini, May 23, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 316; Hohenlohe to Burián, May 20, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 234; Pallavicini to Burián, May 25, 27, 1915, *ibid.*, Nos. 401, 402, 39/P, A-E.

[40] Pallavicini to Burián, May 27, 31, 1915, *ibid.*, Nos. 39/P, A-E, 417; Burián to Tarnowski, May 29, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 252; Burián to Pallavicini, May 31, 1915, *ibid.*, Nos. 332.

[41] Burián to Tarnowski, May 29, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 252; Burián to Pallavicini, May 31, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 332; Pallavicini to Burián, June 5, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 433.

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Dardanelles on August 6. Turkey's ammunition problem was graver than ever. Falkenhayn had already written to the Turkish Minister of War, Enver Pasha, on July 30 and 31 explaining that the Serbian campaign hinged on agreement with the Bulgarians, and he urged for this purpose that Constantinople come to an arrangement with them. The Turks continued to delay. But when on August 17 Enver wired the German chief of staff asking whether Turkey could count on a German-Austrian campaign against Serbia if Bulgaria refused support, and when Falkenhayn answered that in the case of such a refusal the Serbian operation could not be considered, Constantinople decided to give way. On August 22 Bulgaria and Turkey reached an accord. The terms gave Bulgaria the control of both banks of the Maritsa River, which meant the complete possession of the railroad running from Dedeagatch on the Aegean to the Bulgarian Black Sea port of Burgas. In return Bulgaria agreed to participate immediately in the war against the *Entente* powers, but Sofia made the signature of the accord contingent on the successful completion of the military convention and alliance with the Central Powers.[42]

In the final analysis, Bulgaria had run an expert race. Its wise decision to remain neutral when the war broke out meant that it could calmly weigh the general situation as decisive events occurred and make necessary adjustments in policy to obtain the greatest possible fulfillment of its ambitions. As the war went on, King Ferdinand and his government could afford to raise the price of Bulgarian participation to tremendous heights and to have that price seriously considered by the powers engaged in the conflict. When the combatants became desperate enough the price would not only be considered—it would be paid. The alliance signed with the Central Powers in September 1915 meant more than mere success in obliterating the Treaty of Bucharest. It meant that if the Central Powers were victorious, Bulgaria would emerge from the war as the dominant state on the Balkan Peninsula. In accomplishing its goal Sofia had expertly used the Serbian campaign as a diplomatic lever.

As far as Germany was concerned, it was the pragmatic military situation rather than the brilliance of Bulgarian diplomats that caused Berlin to give way on major territorial concessions. The *Entente* attack against the Dardanelles drove home the need for immediate diplomatic action that would pull Bulgaria into the conflict and save Turkey, now a collapsing ally. Be-

[42] Treutler to Berlin, July 30, 31, Aug. 17, 1915, GFMA, Ser. II, reel 14, Nos. 240, 244, 302, 305; Tarnowski to Burián, Aug. 11, 1915, Staatsarchiv, PA, carton 873, No. 887; Burián to Hohenlohe, Aug. 17, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 591; Pallavicini to Burián, Aug. 18, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 628; Foreign Office Memo, Aug. 22, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 4225; Tarnowski to Burián, Sept. 7, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 1037.

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hind the diplomatic action was the constant pressure exerted on the German Foreign Office by Falkenhayn. His persistent demands that something concrete be done were made not because he believed that a joint German-Austrian attack would be insufficient to subdue the Serbian forces, but because Conrad, concerned with the eastern front and then in May 1915 with the new Italian enemy, would not risk a commitment of men without Bulgarian assistance. Falkenhayn's awareness that German troops could not handle the Serbian problem alone proved crucial in his going to the Wilhelmstrasse with the demand that Bulgarian support be immediately obtained.

German diplomatic officials ended by acting in a rather highhanded fashion toward their Austrian ally. From their own standpoint this was, if not excusable, then at least understandable, considering the pressure of time and the tendency of Vienna to weigh and ponder the many subtle facets connected with Balkan diplomacy. They had no wish to insult or ignore the Ballplatz, but their worry over Turkey's condition and the evident need for a successful Serbian campaign led the Germans to risk the monarchy's displeasure.

The Austrians were in reality much more experienced in Balkan matters than their German colleagues. A year before the war began, Vienna had seen the necessity of an alliance with Bulgaria and, by the opening days of the conflict, had almost achieved it. What the Austrians had in mind as concessions in August 1914, however, was far from what the Bulgarians obtained in September 1915. In the course of the war the Austrians changed their policy. They came to distrust the evasiveness of King Ferdinand and Radoslavov with respect to military participation, and they worried about the repercussions of increasing Bulgarian demands for territorial concessions. The Ballplatz never forgot that negotiations with the neutral Balkan States had to be handled in terms of postwar power status. The military convention with Bulgaria was seen as quite enough; an alliance was not essential, nor even desirable. The final result was not without its ironic twist because it was the Austrian chief of staff's refusal to consider mounting a Serbian campaign without Bulgarian participation that led the German military to influence the Wilhelmstrasse. The Austrians ended by accepting an alliance that they saw as possibly disadvantageous to the monarchy's future. But, once Berlin pushed eagerly toward the formal accord, there was little the Austrians could do except follow where Germany led.

Constantinople had not liked making territorial concessions in Thrace, but it had no other choice. By August 1915 Turkey faced more than a muni-

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tions shortage. Food stocks and raw materials such as coal and petroleum were running low, and there was talk of discontent within certain circles that might end by pulling down the regime.[43] To the government the alternatives seemed to be territorial concessions or nonexistence. The more intelligent choice was taken.

Although the negotiations with Bulgaria produced rancor between Germany and the Dual Monarchy, as of course they did, the results of those negotiations proved eminently successful. The Serbian campaign was quickly mounted and then brought to an early conclusion. The Turkish supply problem was solved by the beginning of November, allowing Turkey to continue as an active belligerent. Bulgaria had openly joined the ranks against the *Entente*. If the cost of all this had been high, Germany and Austria could nevertheless take much comfort from the fact that they had substantially furthered their own cause.

[43] Pallavicini to Burián, Sept. 3, 1915, *ibid.*, No. 72/ P B.

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The New Deal and the States

JAMES T. PATTERSON*

WHILE a rough consensus may be developing concerning the aims and philosophy of the New Deal, only controversy surrounds the question of its effect on the states. One group speaks of the "new federalism" of Franklin D. Roosevelt—a potentially cooperative relationship enriched by matching grants and mutual advantage. Conservatives, however, have talked of a Leviathan state. "We are all beginning to look to Uncle Sam to be Santa Claus," one Democratic governor complained in 1935. "I think the toughest problem that we as Governors have is to stay away from it if we can. . . ." And liberals, reflecting a third view, have maintained that the New Deal failed to pull the states out of an entrenched and miasmatic conservatism. "Since 1930," a critic has remarked, "state government has dismally failed to meet responsibilities and obligations in every field. . . . The federal government has not encroached on state government. State government has defaulted."[1]

Although scholars are only beginning to test these viewpoints, a wealth of evidence exists with which to attempt a synthesis. Two questions especially need more study. To what extent did state politics and services change from 1933 to 1945? To what extent were these changes or lack of changes the result of the New Deal?

In many ways state government appeared to change dramatically in the 1930's. States seemed willing to spend more for positive purposes, disbursing some $2,000,000,000.00 in 1927 and between $2,800,000,000.00 and $3,400,000,000.00 annually from 1932 through 1934. When economic conditions improved after 1935, the rise in state spending was considerable—to $4,600,000,000.00 in 1938 and to $5,200,000,000.00 in 1940. State legislators, perhaps, were at last recognizing the need to provide costly services.[2] Much of

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[1] For an account of a new federalism, see Jane P. Clark, *The Rise of a New Federalism* (New York, 1938). The Democratic governor was David Sholtz of Florida, quoted in *Proceedings of the Governors Conference,* 1935 (Chicago, 1935), 37. The critic in 1949 was Robert S. Allen in *Our Sovereign State,* ed. *id.* (New York, 1949), xxix. For a more favorable view of state activity since the 1930's, see James A. Maxwell, *Financing State and Local Governments* (Washington, D. C., 1965), esp. 29.

[2] US Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United*

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this increased spending was for relief, a trend that seemed to reflect the diversion of public funds toward "other Americans." Many states developed central welfare agencies by removing both the financial responsibility for and administration of poor relief from the archaic local units that had monopolized the field. State spending for welfare purposes rose from thirty-five cents per capita in 1922 to seventy-seven cents per capita in 1932 and to four dollars per capita in 1942.[3]

Labor also seemed to benefit from state action in the 1930's. In 1933 alone fourteen states passed the child labor amendment, while only six had approved it between 1924 and 1932. Eight more did so from 1934 to 1938. By 1939 nineteen states had adopted laws modeled along lines of the Norris-La Guardia anti-injunction act of 1932, and twenty-five had enacted legislation providing for minimum wages for women and children. And five states passed so-called "Little Wagner Acts" in 1937. Compared to the inaction or hostility of legislatures in the 1920's and 1950's, this flurry of progressive labor law was remarkable.[4]

Federal-state relations also appeared cooperative. Certainly, many federal officials sought to involve the states in New Deal programs. As one observer remarked in 1936, Washington agencies "are better organized, know better what they want, and are more insistent upon getting it than in any previous year. . . ."[5] The National Emergency Council employed officials to explain and report on federal efforts in the states and to coordinate the many new federal-state programs. Spurred by this activity, states passed an impressive amount of coordinating legislation. By 1937 forty-two states had facilitated administration of the Federal Housing Act, and thirty-two had acted to implement the lending activities of the Farm Credit Administration. In 1935 alone five hundred state laws cleared the path for Public

States, Colonial Times to 1957 (Washington, D. C., 1961), 728. For other more detailed data, see *Federal, State, and Local Government Fiscal Relations,* 78th Cong., 1 sess., Senate Docs., No. 69 (Washington, D. C., 1943), esp. 358; James Maxwell, *The Fiscal Impact of Federalism in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass., 1946), 260 ff.; US Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics on State and Local Government Finances, 1902–1953* (Washington, D. C., 1955), 22; Council of State Governments, *State-Local Relations* (Chicago, 1946), 78–79.

[3] *Historical Statistics of the United States,* 728 (computed from population statistics on p. 7). Per capita welfare expenditures for state and local government were $1.00 in 1922, $3.50 in 1932, and $9.00 in 1942. For these figures, see *Historical Statistics on State and Local Government Finances,* 16, 22. For an exhaustive study of state welfare policies in the 1930's, see Josephine C. Brown, *Public Relief, 1929–1939* (New York, 1940), esp. 85–102, 171–91.

[4] For developments in child labor legislation, see US Department of Labor, *Growth of Labor Law in the U. S.* (Washington, D. C., 1962), 42 ff. For minimum wage legislation, see *ibid.,* 191–223. See also Clara M. Beyer, "Major State Labor Legislation Enacted in 1937," *Labor Information Bulletin,* IV (Aug. 1937), 5–8; "Principal State Labor Laws Enacted in 1935," *ibid.,* II (Sept. 1935), 2–4.

[5] W. Brooke Graves, "The Future of the American States," *American Political Science Review,* XXX (Feb. 1936), 27.

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Works Administration grants to localities.[6] Every state had created state planning agencies by 1937 (only fourteen such agencies had existed in 1933), and all states had assisted the Social Security Act within three years of its passage.[7]

A few states went beyond mere cooperation and enacted "Little New Deals." The 1937 legislative session in Georgia under Governor Eurith D. Rivers was, one observer said, the "bill passin'est session since Oglethorpe climbed out on Yamacraw Bluff."[8] Legislation included welfare reorganization, free school textbooks, state support of public schools for seven months, and larger appropriations for public health.[9] In Pennsylvania Governors Gifford Pinchot and George H. Earle transformed the Keystone State from one of the most reactionary into one of the most progressive. Earle followed national trends so closely that Pennsylvania legislation during his tenure appeared to pass "by ear."[10] Rhode Island and New York under Governors Theodore F. Green and Herbert H. Lehman were two other eastern states to enact sizable portions of New Deal legislation.[11]

Liberal governors also appeared in other states. In Indiana Governor Paul V. McNutt anticipated much of the New Deal with a remarkable record in the legislative session of January 1933.[12] Culbert L. Olson, governor of California from 1939 to 1943, fought valiantly if unsuccessfully for liberal legislation, as did Governor Frank Murphy of Michigan from 1937 to 1939.[13] And Wisconsin under Philip La Follette and Minnesota under

[6] V. O. Key, Jr., "State Legislation Facilitative of Federal Action," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* CCVII (Jan. 1940), 7–13.

[7] National Resources Committee, "The Future of State Planning," Mar. 28, 1938, National Resources Planning Board (NRPB) Files, National Archives, 445.5, box 1070, 9. For information on the states and social security, see Abraham Epstein, "The Future of Social Security," *New Republic,* LXXXIX (Jan. 27, 1937), 373–76; Richard E. Dawson and James A. Robinson, "The Politics of Welfare," in *Politics in the American States: A Comparative Analysis,* ed. Herbert Jacob and Kenneth M. Vines (Boston, 1965), 371–410. This collection of excellent articles contains sophisticated comparative analyses of states by political scientists.

[8] Allen L. Henson, *Red Galluses: A Story of Georgia Politics* (Boston, 1945), 181.

[9] Roy E. Fossett, "The Impact of the New Deal on Georgia Politics, 1933–1941," doctoral dissertation, University of Florida, 1960, 220–46.

[10] Richard C. Keller, "Pennsylvania's Little New Deal," doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1960, 157.

[11] For Rhode Island, see Erwin L. Levine, *Theodore Francis Green: The Rhode Island Years, 1906–1936* (Providence, R. I., 1963), *passim;* for New York, see Allan Nevins, *Herbert H. Lehman and His Era* (New York, 1963), 170–72; Warren Moscow, *Politics in the Empire State* (New York, 1946), 166–68.

[12] See Robert R. Neff, "The Early Career and Governorship of Paul V. McNutt," doctoral dissertation, Indiana University, 1963, esp. 139–71. For an uncritical account, see I. George Blake, *Paul V. McNutt: Portrait of a Statesman* (Indianapolis, 1966).

[13] For California, see Robert E. Burke, *Olson's New Deal for California* (Berkeley, Calif., 1958); H. Brett Melendy and Benjamin F. Gilbert, *The Governors of California: Peter H. Burnett to Edmund G. Brown* (Georgetown, Calif., 1965), 395–411; Ronald E. Chinn, "Democratic Party Politics in California, 1920–1956," doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1958, *passim;* for Michigan, see Richard D. Lunt, *The High Ministry of Government: The Political Career of Frank Murphy* (Detroit, 1965), 123–62; James K. Pollock and

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Floyd B. Olson tried to surpass the New Deal. The Wisconsin legislature, after some prodding, produced a "Little NRA," a state planning board, and a surtax on incomes, dividends, and utility companies in 1935; and a "Little TVA," a state reorganization act, and a "Little Wagner Act" in 1937.[14] Despite conservative legislative opposition, Olson succeeded in achieving a progressive income tax, the abolition of yellow-dog contracts, an anti-injunction statute, and a maximum work week of fifty hours for women.[15]

Given the activities of most states in the 1920's, these various developments were heartening to liberals. They suggested a resurgence of state progressivism, dormant for some years.[16] It also seemed that the New Deal was partly responsible for this resurgence, that there was indeed a new federalism, and that henceforth the national government would serve as the model for states to emulate.

There was also a gloomier side. States in the 1930's witnessed conflict as well as cooperation, conservatism as well as progressivism, reaction as well as reform.

State spending was far from revolutionary when considered in long-range terms. While it increased some 90 per cent from 1932 to 1942, it had increased some 100 per cent from 1922 to 1932 and would increase some 300 per cent from 1942 to 1952.[17] Given the depressed conditions and the increased federal spending of the 1930's, the comparatively small increase in state expenditures is not surprising. It is nonetheless important to stress that in so far as spending is a guide positive state government was not a product of the 1930's but a fluctuating movement since the late nineteenth century.

Trends in state taxation during this period were even more revealing. At a time when some New Dealers were demanding steeper taxes upon the

Samuel J. Eldersfeld, "Michigan Politics in Transition," *Michigan Governmental Studies*, No. 10 (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1942).

[14] Charles H. Backstrom, "The Progressive Party of Wisconsin, 1934–1946," doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1956, esp. 348–63.

[15] See the readable study by George H. Mayer, *The Political Career of Floyd B. Olson* (Minneapolis, 1951), esp. 122–40, 260–71.

[16] For other state studies that discuss the impact of the New Deal, see Rowland L. Mitchell, Jr., "Social Legislation in Connecticut, 1919–1939," doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1954; John D. Minton, "The New Deal in Tennessee, 1932–1938," doctoral dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1959, esp. 371; Allan P. Sindler, *Huey Long's Louisiana: State Politics, 1920–1956* (Baltimore, 1956); and Richard M. Judd, "A History of the New Deal in Vermont," doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1960, esp. 91–102, 120, 205, 268–70. John Gunther, touring the states in the mid-1940's, also commented upon the impact of the New Deal upon party attitudes. (See *Inside U.S.A.* [New York, 1947].)

[17] *Historical Statistics of the United States*, 728. The increase from 1902 to 1913 was 105 per cent; from 1913 to 1922, 350 per cent; and from 1952 to 1962, some $21,000,000,000.00, or 130 per cent.

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wealthy, many states were seeking revenue through increased levies on consumers. The result was a powerful sales tax movement. The first modern retail sales taxes did not become effective until 1932, yet by 1938 thirty-four states were depending on them. By 1942 general sales taxes accounted for 11 per cent of all state revenue from state sources, and gasoline taxes for 18 per cent more. Individual and corporate income taxes brought in only 9 per cent.[18]

The remarkable aspect of these statistics is not that income taxes produced so little: many states looked hungrily in this direction, only to discover that the federal government had devoured this source of sustenance. Nor should it be surprising that states were seeking new revenue, for the desperate financial condition of local governments in the depression years forced states to finance formerly local functions. And it is not strange that states shied from deficit financing; so did most New Dealers. The total picture is nonetheless striking. While per capita state and local spending increased from $60.00 in 1927 to $69.00 in 1940, per capita state and local taxation rose considerably more—from $66.00 to $89.00. States and local subdivisions not only balanced their budgets; often they were able to retire past debts.[19] Far from revolutionary in spending policy, states in the 1930's were more regressive than in the past in raising revenue.

States were also penurious in relief spending. New Deal field agents were alternately astounded and embittered by the conservative and sometimes corrupt policy of state officials. New Jersey's relief administration, one agent noted, "is not a question of mal-administration and it is not altogether inefficient administration. I should say it is inept." An Arkansas agent was more blunt. "We have got to bear down on these local units of administration," he wrote the Federal Emergency Relief Administration head, Harry L. Hopkins. "I am convinced there is an enormous amount of crookedness going on in them." Governor Charles Bryan of Nebraska, brother of the Peerless Leader, received the most unflattering portrait of all. "His idea of social work," the FERA man wrote, "is that performed in cleaning up a political situation, with possibly some value in work done by

[18] *Ibid.*, 727. For state and local figures, see *Federal, State, and Local Government Fiscal Relations*, 345 ff., 431–32; Maxwell, *Fiscal Impact*, 293 ff. For the sales tax movement, see Neil H. Jacoby, *Retail Sales Taxation: An Analysis of Economic and Administrative Problems* (Chicago, 1938), 23–75, esp. table, 72.

[19] The figures for spending and taxes are from *Historical Statistics on State and Local Government Finances*, 22. For state debts, see Maxwell, *Financing*, 179–200, and *Federal, State, and Local Government Fiscal Relations*, 359. Federal debt increased from $149.00 per capita in 1934 to $272.00 in 1940, but state per capita debt increased during the same period only from $14.00 to $15.00, and local per capita debt decreased from $100.00 to $97.00. (Figures, *ibid.*)

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ladies of the W.C.T.U. or the Elks in distributing Christmas baskets."[20]

If these agents were unhappy, Miss Lorena Hickok, Hopkins' perceptive roving observer, was dismayed. Denouncing Maine officials, she wrote that "to be a 'deserving case' in Maine, a family has got to measure up to the most rigid Nineteenth Century standards of cleanliness, physical and moral. . . . a woman who isn't a good housekeeper is apt to have a pretty rough time of it. And Heaven help the family in which there is any 'moral problem.'" The situation in Georgia was worse. "Oh, this *IS* the damnedest state!" she wrote. "I just itch to bring all the unemployed teachers and doctors and nurses and social workers in the North down here and put them to work! Which is, of course, no solution at all." By the time she reached Texas, she was approaching despair. Describing the factionalism that was impairing relief, she cried, "God help the unemployed." "If I were twenty years younger and weighed 75 pounds less," she added, "I think I'd start out to be the Joan of Arc of the Fascist movement in the United States." California was worst of all. "It's California politics, that's all, God damn it, and I think we ought to let Japan have this state. Maybe they could straighten it out."[21]

Most of these complaints were justified. Under the FERA federal money accounted for 71 per cent of all public relief spending in 1934 and 1935. Hopkins struggled constantly to persuade states to contribute their shares to the relief fund, but often only the threat of cutting off federal money coerced economy-conscious legislators. Hopkins had to federalize relief administration in six states rather than leave it in the hands of state and local officials, and had he not been anxious to avoid the appearance of federal dictation, he might have federalized many more.[22]

When the national government abandoned the task of aiding unemployables in 1935, the result was often disastrous for the destitute. Twelve

[20] These letters are, in order, Arch Mandel to Hopkins, Dec. 17, 1934, Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) Files, National Archives, 401.2–420, N.J.; Aubrey Williams to Hopkins, Aug. 9, 1933, *ibid.*, 401.1–406.2, box 16; Sherrard Ewing to Home Office, June 23, 1933, *ibid.*, 401–406.2, Neb., Box 173. Herbert Hoover's fieldmen had also been frustrated by the unwillingness of states to appropriate adequate funds for relief. (See the files of President's Organization on Unemployment Relief [POUR], National Archives, file 501.)

[21] These letters in the form of narrative reports to Hopkins are dated as follows: Sept. 30, 1933; Jan. 23, 1934; Apr. 11, 1934; and Aug. 1, 1934. All are in Harry L. Hopkins Papers, box 89, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. These voluminous reports, while often harsh concerning state officials, are a remarkably complete and useful primary source. No other agent traveled so widely or reported so thoroughly.

[22] Theodore E. Whiting, *Final Statistical Report of the F.E.R.A.* (Washington, D.C., 1942), *passim*. For Hopkins' problems in Colorado, see James F. Wickens, "Colorado in the Great Depression: A Study of New Deal Policies at the State Level," doctoral dissertation, University of Denver, 1964, 105–14. For Ohio problems, see David J. Maurer, "Public Relief Programs and Policies in Ohio, 1929–1939," doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University, 1963, 1–150. For "federalization" of relief, see Arthur H. Benedict, "Federal Centralization through Congressional Legislation, 1924–1939," doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University, 1948, 46 ff.

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states spent less than fifty cents per month for each recipient of direct poor relief in 1939; thirteen more contributed nothing at all, leaving poor relief in the hands of inefficient local officials.[23] The situation in too many states resembled that in Illinois in 1940 where "the administration of general assistance in Illinois, since the exit of the F.E.R.A., has been a retreat to the poor law."[24] Although relief administration improved in some states, the picture was far from satisfactory, and states continued to lag far behind the federal government in distributing relief.

Labor's gains on the state level were also more apparent than real. Because the Supreme Court did not rule in favor of the Wagner Act and minimum wages until 1937, many states considered it folly to enact complementary statutes before that time. The sit-down strikes of 1937 then turned many moderates against organized labor. The conflict between the AFL and the CIO was also harmful; in Minnesota the AFL, fearing that a state labor board would favor the CIO, helped defeat a "Little Wagner Act."[25] Other states were reluctant to pass progressive labor laws that might hurt them in the competitive struggle to attract industry. Finally, state legislatures continued to be dominated by the same kinds of people who had ruled in more conservative times: lawyers, farmers, and businessmen. Few of these men encouraged unionism.[26]

For these reasons organized labor made few gains in the states after 1937. As the assistant director of the Division of Labor Standards wrote ruefully in 1939, "The legislatures, in almost every instance, are dominated by farmers and big business. Very little labor legislation will be enacted."[27] The Pennsylvania legislature amended its "Little Wagner Act" on behalf of business interests; Wisconsin legislators repealed theirs. Minimum-wage legislation received unsympathetic hearings, and only two new laws passed in 1939.[28] A federal agent reported that the "outstanding feature" of labor leg-

[23] Brown, *Public Relief*, 336–40; Donald S. Howard, *The W.P.A. and Federal Relief Policy* (New York, 1943), 551.

[24] Arthur P. Miles, "Relief in Illinois without Federal Aid," *Social Service Review*, XIV (June 1940), 300; see also Arthur Dunham, "Public Welfare and the Referendum in Michigan," *ibid.*, XII (Sept. 1938), 417–39; William Haber and Herman M. Somers, "The Administration of Public Assistance in Massachusetts," *ibid.*, 397–416.

[25] Ivan H. Hinderaker, "Harold Stassen and Developments in the Republican Party in Minnesota, 1937–1943," doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1949, 93.

[26] Clement C. Young, *The Legislature of California: Its Membership, Procedure, and Work* (San Francisco, 1943), 18–19 *et passim*, contains considerable information regarding occupational backgrounds of legislators in California and elsewhere. See also Charles S. Hyneman, "Tenure and Turnover of the Indiana General Assembly," *American Political Science Review*, XXXII (Feb., Apr. 1938), 51–66, 311–31. For the unfriendly attitude toward organized labor of the supposedly radical Long machine in Louisiana, see Sindler, *Huey Long's Louisiana*, 105–106.

[27] Clara M. Beyer to Paul Sifton, Mar. 20, 1939, Division of Labor Standards Files, National Archives, box 59, 12-0-15-4.

[28] Sanford Cohen, *State Labor Legislation, 1937–1947: A Study of State Laws Affecting the Conduct and Organization of Labor Unions* (Columbus, Ohio, 1948), 50.

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islation in 1939 was the "tendency in several states to enact measures seriously restricting the rights of labor to organize and to bargain collectively."[29] Right-to-work laws in the early 1940's served to emphasize the accuracy of his remarks.

Federal-state relations were also far from smooth. Officials of the National Recovery Administration worked diligently to persuade states to create "Little NRA's" covering intrastate matters, but with disappointing results. One field agent wrote, "the hope we have is very slim. We find NRA and Codes decidedly unpopular in the rural regions and it is these regions that dominate our legislature. . . ." Another added, "there is a natural antagonism toward federal legislation in general and NRA in particular, existing in the minds of a great many legislators. . . . too many requests for legislation are coming from the various branches of the Federal Government."[30] By 1935 when the Supreme Court invalidated the NRA, few states had cooperated earnestly.

Many liberals were equally dismayed by the failure of the planning movement, encouraged by some New Dealers to induce states to consider long-range solutions for their problems. As long as states received federal money to finance planning (they obtained some $1,800,000.00 in 1937), they were willing to cooperate superficially. They set up planning boards, conducted studies, and issued reports. But when the money declined, so did the boards. A careful survey in 1938 observed that "the boards have been groping, experimenting, feeling their way. . . . there exists confusion." Boards were "precarious" in one-third of the states and either "nonexistent or relatively inactive" in another one-third.[31] Neither the depression nor the New Deal was able to persuade state legislators to indulge in the frills of long-range planning.

Federal-state conflicts were common in the 1930's. Such friction was partly the result of the emergency situation: the New Deal enacted so many new laws calling for state implementation that some confusion was inevitable. New Dealers, moreover, were too often unable to clarify their intentions for state officials. One competent observer saw little "formal organization for handling the federal-state legislative relationship." New Dealers, he continued, were "unaware of the part that state legislation plays in departmental activity." The National Emergency Council, supposedly the

[29] Charles F. Sharkey, "State Legislation on Labor Relations," *Labor Information Bulletin*, VI (Sept. 1939), 10; "Progress of State Minimum Wage Legislation in 1939," *Monthly Labor Review*, L (Feb. 1940), 312–24.

[30] E. J. Brennan to R. S. Beach, Mar. 16, 1935, Charles S. Ausley to Walter Hawkins, May 13, 1935, National Recovery Administration (NRA) Files, National Archives, Ser. 101, Mo. File, and box 7939.

[31] National Resources Committee, "The Future of State Planning," Mar. 28, 1938, NRPB Files, 445.5, box 1070, 9; see also Ralph B. Cooney, "Planning by the States," *New Republic*, XCV (July 20, 1938), 296–97.

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coordinator, was merely a group of people who "assisted the President in gauging political winds."[32]

Hickok, surprised to find that many state officials had never heard of the NEC, was especially disillusioned. The NEC, she wrote, "hasn't even begun to live up to its possibilities. . . . And I think that one trouble is that the coordinating end of it has been 'nobody's baby.' Just a grand idea that nobody ever really did much about." State NEC agents, she advised, should have authority to "'crack down' on the heads of the other government agencies in the state, or to interfere with policies laid down by the heads of those agencies in Washington." Urging more frequent meetings between state and federal officials, she concluded wisely, "There's nothing else in the world quite so effective as personal contact—hours of conversation over a highball—to break down this kind of thing."[33] The New Deal, far from autocratically imposing its programs upon the states, sometimes failed to impose them at all.

The fate of the "Little New Deals" also revealed the transitory nature of state progressivism in the 1930's. In Georgia, Rivers managed to win again in 1938, only to plunge into partisan warfare with conservative legislators. Soon the state had financial troubles, and Rivers' prestige disappeared. Of the three Democratic candidates in the 1940 gubernatorial primary, not one endorsed the New Deal, and former Governor Eugene Talmadge, a staunch foe of liberalism, swept to victory on an economy platform.[34]

Other progressive administrations failed to survive the 1938 elections. Harold Stassen defeated the Farmer-Labor administration in Minnesota; a conservative Republican replaced La Follette in Wisconsin; the Republican victor in Pennsylvania set out to make good his pledge to burn all three thousand pages of liberal legislation signed by Pinchot and Earle; and Murphy was defeated in Michigan, to be replaced after the death of his opponent by an eighty-year-old lieutenant governor who bragged, "I have a pipe-line to God," and whose friends referred modestly to themselves as "just a couple of fellows hanging on the public tit."[35] A few progressive governors remained after 1938, but none succeeded in enacting much of the New Deal, and in many states the liberal programs achieved in the mid-1930's remained on the defensive for the next two decades.

[32] Ernest Engelbert and Kenneth Wernimont, "Administrative Aspects of the Federal-State Legislative Relationship," *Public Administration Review*, II (Spring 1942), 126–41.

[33] Hickok to Hopkins, May 27, 1935, Hopkins Papers, box 89.

[34] Fossett, "Impact of the New Deal," 261–314.

[35] Keller, "Pennsylvania's Little New Deal," 320–24; "The Republican Party; Up from the Grave," *Fortune*, XX (Aug. 1939), 100; see also Philip La Follette *et al.*, "Why We Lost," *Nation*, CXLVII (Dec. 3, 1938), 586–90.

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Various factors help explain the difficulties encountered by state progressivism in the 1930's. Perhaps the most obvious was the limited nature of positive state action prior to the depression. Scholars have rightly shown that states contributed materially to nineteenth-century economic development, that they preceded the national government in efforts to regulate corporations, and that they often served as laboratories of social reform.[36] But neither the states nor the federal government prior to the depression had been forced to think seriously of costly welfare legislation, deficit spending, or legislation beneficial to organized labor. Since these were the staples of the new progressivism of the 1930's, it was not strange that state leaders, like many New Dealers, were slow to adopt them.

Lack of funds provided a second problem. Even before the depression, real-estate and personal property taxes—until then the chief sources of state and local revenue—had proved burdensome, and states, faced with the enormously expensive task of road building in the 1920's, had been forced to turn to bond issues. When the depression descended so sharply, it caught many states in an unsound financial position, which they tried to escape first through drastic economies and then through regressive taxation.[37] Chastened by this experience, these states lacked faith in renewed deficit financing, and they therefore shunned costly progressive services.

Another difficulty was a peculiar one of timing. The reform impulse of the 1930's, unlike that of the progressive era, was federal in origin and limited in duration. Pressed for funds in the early years of the depression, states awaited federal action. But since many key New Deal laws affecting states—social security, the Wagner Act, and fair labor standards—were passed in or after 1935, and since the Supreme Court did not sustain them until 1937 or later, many states were reluctant to enact "Little New Deals" before 1937. Then the conservative reaction of 1937–1938 descended, and the main chance was gone. While several states managed to accomplish much in 1935 or 1937, the great majority needed more time.

Institutional factors presented a fourth hurdle. Just as courts thwarted the New Deal, so they interfered with progressive state legislation. State

[36] See Sidney Fine, *Laissez Faire and the General-Welfare State: A Study of Conflict in American Thought, 1865–1901* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1956), 19 ff., 353 ff.; Daniel J. Elazar, *The American Partnership: Intergovernmental Cooperation in the 19th Century United States* (Chicago, 1962); Robert S. Maxwell, *La Follette and the Rise of the Progressives in Wisconsin* (Madison, Wis., 1956); Gerald D. Nash, *State Government and Economic Development: A History of Administrative Policies in California, 1849–1933* (Berkeley, Calif., 1964).

[37] State per capita debt rose from $7.70 in 1919 to $15.03 in 1930. (*State-Local Relations*, 79.) For state debts, see also "Going into the Red," *State Government*, V (Apr. 1932), 10–11; Edna Trull, "Two Decades of State Borrowing," *National Municipal Review*, XXVI (June 1937), 277–82, and "Resources and Debts of the Forty-Eight States," *ibid.*, XXVII (June 1938), 293–98.

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constitutions imposed unrealistic obstacles to financing new services,[38] and state legislatures continued to be dominated by ill-trained, inexperienced, and poorly paid men, chosen according to systems of apportionment that were inequitable in forty-one state senates and thirty-six assemblies. In practically every case, this unfair apportionment favored rural areas; in such key urban states as Connecticut and Ohio this fact helped prevent comprehensive "Little New Deals."[39]

A more serious institutional problem was the incorrigible factionalism of state Democratic parties. This factionalism was sometimes selfish, sometimes the result of new, liberal elements challenging an existing organization, but it almost always blocked cohesive party policy. When Democratic National Chairman James A. Farley asked state politicians to voice their complaints, he received innumerable protests against selfish factions that were damaging the President's program. "The Democratic organization has fallen down," a Montana Democrat wrote. "I never went to a single county that factions did not exist. . . . The party has simply got to be reorganized from the bottom." An Ohio Democrat added in 1938:

> Things are not as good in Ohio as they were two years ago. We have had too much discord among the leaders and the near-leaders in the party. We have been in office quite a while; we are well fed. This makes for unnecessary and unseemly ambition on the part of too many Democrats who are "hell-bent to be first in the kingdom."[40]

Federal field agents concurred. One wrote to Hopkins: "legislation would be much simpler in Iowa if there was one good political boss. There is no leadership. The legislature is divided into numerous factions . . . and these factions are not split along party lines."[41] Hickok concluded:

> in each of these states you have *one or more* of the boys trying to build up Tammany organizations overnight, with plenty of opposition from other Democrats, while the Republicans piously hold their noses! And the President, if he isn't actually dragged into it, is left without any organization, or any spokesman.[42]

[38] See B. U. Ratchford, "Constitutional Provisions Governing State Borrowing," *American Political Science Review,* XXXII (Aug. 1938), 694–717.

[39] For the quality of state legislatures, see Hyneman, "Tenure and Turnover"; Henry W. Toll, "The 48: A Smiling Comparison of Some Features of Our Legislators," *State Government,* III (May 1930), 3–11. For unfair apportionment, see Thomas R. Dye, "State Legislative Politics," in *Politics in the American States,* ed. Jacob and Vines, 160–64; David O. Walter, "Reapportionment and Urban Representation," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* CXCV (Jan. 1938), 11–20.

[40] James F. O'Connor to Arthur F. Lamey (Montana Democratic state chairman), Nov. 22, 1938, George H. Kemath to Farley, Oct. 28, 1938, Official File 300 [hereafter cited as OF 300], boxes 105, 106, Election Forecasts and Analyses, Roosevelt Library. This file is a major source of evidence of party factionalism in the 1930's.

[41] T. J. Edmunds to Hopkins, Feb. 2, 1934, FERA Files, Iowa, box 97.

[42] Hickok to Hopkins, Nov. 3, 1935, Hopkins Papers, box 89 [italics hers].

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Democratic politicians, moving ambitiously to majority status, gathered like bees about the honey, and all too often the progressives fell to the ground.[43]

What could New Dealers have done to assure a deeper impact upon the states? Little. The limited nature of predepression state progressivism was not the fault of the New Deal, nor was the financial chaos of many states in the early 1930's. Indeed, federal aid to the states, which increased from $217,000,000.00 in 1932 to $2,000,000,000.00 in 1935, was indispensable in rehabilitating state finances.[44] Problems presented by state courts, unfair apportionment, and state constitutions were soluble by state action alone.

Federal coercion was not the answer. Men such as Farley and Hopkins realized only too well that state officials were easily offended and that to charge in, as Roosevelt did in the purge of 1938, was to invite defeat. As Hopkins said of a factional struggle in Delaware, "I am not disposed to do anything in this administrative jam. I think this is up to Delaware. I am disposed to let them stew in their own juice."[45] Farley was equally cautious. California Democrats besieged him with pleas in 1934 to halt the factionalism surrounding Upton Sinclair's "End Poverty in California" campaign. One correspondent complained: "The Democrats here are all fighting among themselves. . . . Frankly, you are the only one who could save the situation. These Democratic factions should unite and concentrate upon one good man, with your approval." Farley passed the letter to Louis McH. Howe, Roosevelt's friend and political adviser. Howe was no help. "You are running California," he cracked. "What will I tell this man?" Farley was at a loss: "I don't know what to say to you, Louis, except to pass the letter back to you and write him and say you will call the matter to my attention. It is a terrible mess but how we are going to be able to do anything, I don't know."[46]

[43] Many secondary works document this factionalism in individual states or regions. These include V. O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York, 1949); John H. Fenton, *Politics in the Border States: A Study of the Patterns of Organization and Political Change* (New Orleans, 1957); Sindler, *Huey Long's Louisiana;* Elmer L. Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension in North Carolina, 1928–1936* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1962); *Rocky Mountain Politics,* ed. Thomas Donnelly (Albuquerque, N. Mex., 1940). Among state histories dealing with politics in the 1930's are Charles H. Ambler and Festus P. Summers, *West Virginia: The Mountain State* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1958); Duane Meyer, *The Heritage of Missouri, A History* (St. Louis, 1965); Elwyn B. Robinson, *History of North Dakota* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1966); Carl Ubbelohde, *A Colorado History* (Boulder, Colo., 1965); T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1965); James C. Olson, *History of Nebraska* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1955); Warren A. Beck, *New Mexico: A History of Four Centuries* (Norman, Okla., 1962); Seth S. McKay and Odie B. Faulk, *Texas after Spindletop* (Austin, Texas, 1965); Edwin C. McReynolds, *Oklahoma, A History of the Sooner State* (Norman, Okla., 1954). Political patterns in these states were, to state it mildly, inauspicious for progressive reform.

[44] Henry J. Bittermann, *State and Federal Grants-in-Aid* (New York, 1938), 142. The latter sum included FERA and PWA funds.

[45] Hopkins telephone conversation, Apr. 19, 1934, Hopkins Papers, box 93.

[46] H. R. Keefe to Roosevelt, June 22, 1934, Howe to Farley, June 29, 1934, Farley to Howe, July 2, 1934, OF 300, box 16.

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Patronage problems also revealed the dilemma faced by Roosevelt and his advisers. To many Republicans it seemed that only Democrats were receiving key administrative positions. As the decade advanced, charges that relief spending was "Farleyized" were especially loud, culminating in widespread attacks on the WPA in 1938.

In fact the opposite was often true, and Republicans managed to secure important federal jobs in many states. Early in the New Deal Farley approved a procedure whereby job seekers had to receive the endorsement of county chairmen, congressmen, or senators. The Democratic National Committee would then review the endorsements, filling jobs on the basis of ability and past support of Roosevelt. The system failed. For one thing, there were too many applicants—some 10 for each of the 150,000 jobs. Worse, it was easy to get endorsements from local politicians anxious to please hard-pressed constituents. "Endorsers," one observer commented, "are as undiscriminating as poppy girls at a Legion ball."[47] Distribution of New Deal patronage was far from centralized, and many appointees proved unsympathetic with the programs they were supposed to administer.

As if this situation were not troublesome enough, some New Dealers, notably Hopkins and Interior Secretary Harold L. Ickes, refused to allow Farley to interfere with their staffing procedures. The result was incessant complaining from disgruntled Democrats. "I do not want you to understand that I am desirous of making a political football out of the W.P.A.," an Illinois county chairman wrote, "but I certainly object to the W.P.A. being operated to the disadvantage of the Democratic Party."[48] A Michigan national committeeman added: "I would appreciate greatly anything you can do in Washington to encourage Harry Hopkins to go along with us in a [*sic*] effort to make this machinery balance up to the point of making it a nonpartisan picture. It is now and has been a 90% Republican picture."[49] Another complainer was Senator Harry S. Truman. Missouri, he told Farley, gave Roosevelt a large majority, but "when the patronage was handed out the people who control things in the party in this State were not recognized. . . . it is rather discouraging to say the least."[50] Even Hickok, ordinarily contemptuous of politicians who tried to control relief administration, was concerned over the number of conservative Republican ap-

[47] "The Democratic Party," *Fortune,* XI (Apr. 1935), 135.

[48] W. M. Burton to Farley, Dec. 12, 1938, OF 300, box 104.

[49] Horatio J. Abbott to Emil Hurja, Apr. 4, 1934, Emil Hurja Papers, Roosevelt Library. Hurja was Farley's aid; his papers contain letters concerning patronage problems.

[50] Truman to Farley, Aug. 28, 1936, Democratic National Committee Files, box 5, Missouri, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. These files and those of the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee under OF 300 also contain revealing political correspondence.

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pointees. She complained to Hopkins, "I can't see that leaving it [relief] all in the hands of the gang that handled it under Hoover—and who are about as popular out here as grasshoppers—was exactly smart. It hasn't 'taken' well, I can assure you. Yours for a REAL DICTATORSHIP."[51]

Far from being controlled for the benefit of the Democratic party, relief administration was remarkably nonpartisan in the 1930's and often hostile to the New Deal. But what were Hopkins and Ickes to do? Had they chosen to make relief and public works the province of machine Democrats, relief standards might have been no better, and the critics of "Farleyization" would have been all the more vociferous. Federal restraint was the wisest policy.

The politics of America is state politics. The effect of the New Deal thus depended on the creation and sustenance of forty-eight strong liberal Democratic machines, and this the New Deal failed to do. One critic perceived this failure as early as 1935:

> The Democratic machine of the early thirties is in no remarkable way distinguishable from the political machines, Republican or Democratic, which have preceded it. It is not, that is to say, a device upon which the United States Patent Office would look with interest. Aside from certain improvements in the timing gears . . . it is a dead ringer for earlier and too familiar models.[52]

And a liberal columnist, commenting on Democratic defeats in 1938, warned that the election should "persuade Roosevelt that the local Democratic machines which have flourished under his Administration are liabilities, and that the work of spreading the gospel is not a proper mission for gorillas."[53] It is undeniable that Roosevelt, working with often unprogressive state and local Democratic parties, failed to construct a liberal Democratic apparatus in many states.

But his alternatives were restricted. New Dealers, especially in the busy first term, did not have much time to devote to political questions in nonelection years. It was simpler to work within the existing machinery, much of which functioned in city halls rather than statehouses, than to embark upon the difficult task of liberalizing state parties. And given the autonomy of state political organizations, it is doubtful that the strongest pressures would have succeeded. Had Roosevelt systematically sought to purge Democratic organizations of uncooperative elements at the height of his popularity in 1936, he might have made a start. But it is not at all

[51] Hickok to Hopkins, Nov. 9, 1933, Hopkins Papers, box 89.
[52] "Democratic Party," 63.
[53] Paul Y. Anderson, "What the Election Means," *Nation,* CXLVII (Nov. 19, 1938), 527–29.

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certain that he would have succeeded, and politicians of all persuasions would have hotly resented the attempt.

Few historians would maintain that the New Deal left the states unchanged. States centralized services, applied new taxes, approved progressive labor laws, and increased relief spending. A host of ambitious federal agencies prodded state departments into new services. Without the depression and New Deal, the striking developments in state government of the 1940's and 1950's might not have come so quickly. The over-all picture, however, reveals almost as much continuity as change on the state level from the progressive period (excepting perhaps the 1920's) to the 1960's, and it suggests that historians would do well to revise nationalistic interpretations of the New Deal. The New Deal years witnessed neither federal dictation, a completely cooperative federalism, nor a dramatically new state progressivism. Moreover, many of the changes that did occur, notably in relief administration and taxation, were forced upon the states by the depression and not by the New Deal.

New Dealers must unquestionably accept some responsibility for this limited effect on the states. Some federal officials neglected state affairs; others appointed hostile personnel; still others were unnecessarily fearful of offending entrenched machines. The lack of coordination among various federal agencies was at times distressing. But the most striking feature of federal-state relations during the 1930's was not the failure of New Dealers but the limits in which they had to operate. Time was short, courts hostile, state institutions blocked change, and state parties were often divided, conservative, or concerned with patronage instead of policy. Roosevelt, by working with instead of against the *status quo* in the states, kept federal-state friction to a minimum and concentrated on achieving the national legislation that proved more important in assuring social change in twentieth-century America.

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* * * Review Note * * *

DOKTRINA MONRO (PROISKHOZDENIE I KHARAKTER) [The Monroe Doctrine (Origin and Character)]. By *N. N. Bolkhovitinov*. (Moscow: Publishing House of the Institute of International Relations. 1959. Pp. 332.)

THIS book, on a subject not unknown to me, has only recently been brought to my attention. I have asked Professor David Mackenzie, an accomplished student of the Soviet Union, to digest it for me, and I believe that it presents some information on Russian historiography as of 1959, and on the objectivity with which historical events are analyzed by Russian scholars.

It is pertinent to remark at the outset that the ideal of complete objectivity is one rarely attained even by the most disciplined researcher. Most historians start with some preconceptions and with some prejudices. It is, indeed, questionable whether complete detachment is desirable and whether historical writing does not gain from the expression of opinions frankly avowed and well documented. On the other hand, most of us would agree that the facts of history ought not be forced into a rigid mold or made to serve a specific doctrine.

With these preliminary remarks, I proceed to some comment on Professor Bolkhovitinov's work.

It should be said at the beginning that the book is the product of very substantial research. It rests in part on the materials in the Russian archives, which the author has used with great skill. An impressive array of secondary materials has also been consulted. It comes as a bit of a shock, however, to find William Z. Foster's book on the social history of the United States cited, especially since an examination of Foster's work discloses that it has been written without any documentation whatsoever. It is, of course, more gratifying to me in particular to find my own book on the Monroe Doctrine, 1823–1826, cited with approval.

It is right to say, moreover, that Bolkhovitinov makes some concession to the multicausational view of history. He does not, in other words, insist that economic forces tell the whole story. His introduction of other factors is not extensive, but it is there, and it is encouraging. For any study in the historical field that does not recognize the complexity of human motivations and the dangers involved in assigning concrete action to simple causes must fall short, it seems to me, of the historical ideal.

Thirdly, I approve of many of his views. There are, of course, ritualisitc references to the bourgeois historians, and there are, as we shall see, theses that I cannot accept. But on the question of the reality of the danger of intervention in the Spanish American colonies by the powers of Europe, the book sustains the view I took when my book on the Monroe Doctrine appeared in 1927. The limited enthusiasm of the Latin American states for Monroe's pronouncement is

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also stressed. An interesting discussion of the attitude of Simon Bolivar emphasizes his indifference or even hostility to the United States.

In the fourth place, it is possible to understand the author's thesis that the economic interests behind the doctrine have been undervalued. In my own treatment of the subject in 1927 I put heavy weight on the economic factor in connection with the controversy with Russia over the Northwest coast. That part of the message dealing with Latin America I covered in almost purely political terms. Though the political motives still appear dominant to me, and though in the cabinet discussions they appear to be stressed to the exclusion of other factors, I think that the desire for trade with Latin America, as brought out in John Quincy Adams' diplomatic correspondence, should be given more weight than I gave it at the time.

Having said these things, I should also say that there is a distinct ideological emphasis in this volume. The preface states that the purpose of the book is to "investigate the origin and character of the Monroe Doctrine, *with whose aid aggressive circles in the United States even today seek to justify their expansionist policy in relation to the countries of the Western Hemisphere* [italics mine]."

In support of this thesis the author alludes to the attitude of the United States toward Spanish Florida, toward Texas, and toward Cuba. It is not clear that the Monroe Doctrine affected the Florida question, which was settled by the treaty of 1819, more than four years before the doctrine was enunciated. As to Cuba, while not denying the existence of an acquisitive instinct in the United States, it is not easy to relate this directly to the message of 1823. Concerning Texas, it is quite true that in his message of December 2, 1845, President Polk appealed to the doctrine in justification of an expansionist policy. But Texas had already entered the Union at that time; from a strictly chronological point of view, the Polk message followed on, and did not cause, annexation. Bolkhovitinov does not mention Oregon; here I believe Frederick Merk has been useful in relating the Polk reiteration of the Monroe Doctrine to the policy of expansion in general.

Bolkhovitinov speaks of American expansionist policies in relation to the countries of the Western Hemisphere and seeks to connect this expansion with the Monroe Doctrine. The doctrine, in my view, has sometimes served an expansionist, and sometimes a conservative, purpose. I can detect no "expansionism" in the original message. The same thing holds true with regard to the doctrine in relation to the French intervention in Mexico in the 1860's, to the Venezuela boundary question of the 1890's, or in the strong reaction to the Anglo-German blockade of Venezuela in 1902–1903. On the other hand, the no transfer principle, enunciated clearly by General Grant, has expansionist overtones. So, too, of course, and in a big way, has the Roosevelt corollary, which served as the basis for our occupation of three Caribbean states in the second decade of the present century. But the facts should not be forced into a mold in the interests of doctrinal consistency.

I think it clear, moreover, that the use of the doctrine for expansionist purposes is largely a thing of the past. "Aggressive circles," I suppose, may still cite it. But the government of the United States, the executive arm of the govern-

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ment, at any rate, has long since practiced great restraint in citing it, recognizing clearly that the phrase "Monroe Doctrine" conveys an unpleasant sense of superiority or hegemony to Latin Americans.

But what about "expansionism" in Latin America in general? After all, for more than thirty years the United States has been bound by the treaties of Montevideo and Buenos Aires not to intervene in Latin American states. The only case in which this pledge has been violated was the intervention in the Dominican Republic during 1965, an intervention supported by the Organization of American States and lasting less than twelve months. It may be suggested, in fact, that the interference of the United States in Latin America has been far less extensive than the intervention of the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe (we have no Hungary behind us). On the other hand, in candor it must be admitted that the states of Eastern Europe are gaining an increasing freedom of action with time.

It is surprising, to raise another point, to find our Russian author declaring that in recent years "bourgeois historiography" has tended to inflate the Russian menace in the Northwest in 1823. I know of no evidence to sustain this point of view. No American historian, to my knowledge, has ever claimed that the Russian government had deeply rooted expansionist designs in California and the Northwest. In negotiating with the United States in 1824, the striking thing, as I demonstrated long ago, was the moderation of the Tsar and his advisers. An expansionist view of the role of the Russian-American Company is taken by S. B. Okum in a book published in translation in this country in 1951. But Okum is a Marxist historian, and, if American historians have accepted his view, his is the responsibility.

Most interesting, from the doctrinal point of view, is Bolkhovitinov's statement, after declaring that the Monroe Doctrine was connected with the objectively progressive element of capitalism, that "capitalism is inextricably tied up with compulsion, wars, seizures, and subjugation of weaker peoples." Such obeisances to Marxist dogma are, I suspect, required of Russian historians. This statement could be made the subject of a volume, but events since 1945 do not tend to bear it out. There have been no wars between the great capitalist countries; so far as the general picture is concerned, the striking facts are the decline of colonialism, the peaceful disposition of the great capitalist states, the immense improvement in living standards in the great Western societies, making war—with its destruction and violence and its colossal risks—more and more unlikely. Surely, the disturbances in the world today come more from Communist doctrine than from Western dogmas. One must not, I suppose, expect a Marxist historian to recognize this fact. It is a pity, however, to import the Marxian legend into serious history.

Rochester, New York DEXTER PERKINS

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★ ★ ★ ★ Reviews of Books ★ ★ ★ ★

General

INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES. Volume XXXI, 1962, including some publications of previous years; Volume XXXII, 1963, including some publications of previous years. Edited with the contribution of the national committees by *Michel François* and *Nicolas Tolu* for the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Lausanne. [Published with the assistance of UNESCO and under the patronage of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1965; 1966. Pp. cxx, 489; xxvii, 489.)

THESE two volumes are the latest in a distinguished series that began in 1926. Since 1947 they have been published with the assistance of UNESCO, and in his preface to Volume XXXII, M. Julien Cain expresses his appreciation of this subvention in a salute to that organization on its twentieth anniversary. He also calls attention to the several bibliographies in the social sciences that have been begun with similar subsidy by the International Committee for Social Science Documentation, and to other, older bibliographies published under the auspices of the International Council of Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, in recent years also with UNESCO support. All are major cooperative bibliographic undertakings, international in scope, and each is a measure of the scholar's debt to UNESCO.

The *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences,* as its compilers stress, is selective and descriptive. How selective it is with regard to periodical literature can be deduced from the fact that these two volumes, each containing almost eight thousand entries (some of them composite), represent a selection from the contents of the tremendous list of periodicals that occupies some ninety-two pages in Volume XXXI. Entries are submitted to the compilers by the various national committees, and the compilers, as Cain observes, have to do extensive winnowing of the entries submitted to them.

The process of selection must, therefore, be rigorous. I would repeat the criticism made in earlier reviews that the work has certain weakness with regard to United States entries. The products and accomplishments, for example, of such enterprises as the National Archives Microfilm Publications Program, in reproducing whole series of records in the National Archives, have made a major contribution to the cause of multiarchival research, which one would assume would be of special interest to an international organization. They would appear, as regards this country, to warrant notice as one of the "essential facts of historical production," to quote the *Bibliography*'s purpose as stated in the foreword. The same observation would apply to some of the bibliographic and other committee publications of the Society of American Archivists.

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The work does, however, render full justice to the splendid output of multivolume letterpress documentary publication projects now under way in this country. Though the *Writings on American History* for 1955, published in 1963, is not listed, it is to be hoped that it will be included in the next volume. The compilers show no disinclination to recognize the magnetic tape as a device to be employed by the auxiliary sciences of history, and they list the description and catalogue of the Oral History Collection of Columbia University. I was informed that a decision was made by the International Committee in 1965 to include indexes and guides to photoduplicated materials (including microfilm) in future compilations.

Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society LESTER W. SMITH

THE ART OF MEMORY. By *Frances A. Yates.* ([Chicago:] University of Chicago Press. 1966. Pp. xv, 400. $8.95.)

IN her distinguished *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition,* which demonstrated the crucial importance for Bruno of the most occult strands in Renaissance thought, Frances Yates promised a companion volume relating him to the classical art of memory. She has kept her promise with this new work. Like the earlier book, this one surveys an obscure tradition from its origins in antiquity into the later Renaissance. It describes the ancient art of memory, which was primarily a set of techniques to help orators, and the medieval transformation of the art, notably in the thought of the great Dominican Schoolmen, into a device to assist Christians in remembering the various sins and virtues. The art of memory was therefore transmitted to Bruno's generation through both classical and Scholastic channels.

The book's major achievement is its demonstration that what may, on first inspection, seem no more than a minor curiosity of European intellectual history was intimately related to major developments in the history of thought and sensibility. Because memory systems generally relied on visual images to impress data on the mind, they probably nourished the arts and literature; Dante's Inferno, the author suggests, may have been constructed as a memory aid. But, above all, the art of memory served the needs of Renaissance minds desperately concerned to re-create and re-experience the unity of their shattered intellectual universe. For memory was a way of retaining the past in the present and of uniting all things in a single mind. Memories, properly arranged, could therefore coordinate the microcosm to the actual structure of the macrocosm and thus tap all the mysterious energies of the universe. Memory, in this light, became a magic art closely related, in Bruno's intellectual lineage, to Hermetism. Certain memory theorists also tended to visualize their systems as actual theaters, and one of the many interesting chapters in this book relates the memory theater of Robert Fludd to the arrangement of Shakespeare's Globe theater; in this context "all the world's a stage" takes on a new and deeper meaning. Finally, Yates suggests that, through the relations between memory art and the Ramist and Lullist pursuit of a new methodology, mnemotechnics contributed to the

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development of scientific method in the seventeenth century. This is a kind of tunnel history, but passages go out from the main shaft in many directions.

University of California, Berkeley WILLIAM J. BOUWSMA

LES ASPECTS INTERNATIONAUX DE LA DÉCOUVERTE OCÉANIQUE AUX XV^e ET XVI^e SIÈCLES: ACTES DU CINQUIÈME COLLOQUE INTERNATIONAL D'HISTOIRE MARITIME (LISBONNE—14–16 SEPTEMBRE 1960). Presented by *Michel Mollat* and *Paul Adam*. [Bibliothèque générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section.] ([Paris:] S.E.V.P.E.N. 1966. Pp. 386.)

THE papers in this volume, delayed in publication, offer several approaches to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century oceanic discovery. The authors discuss five familiar themes: the idea of discovery and its dissemination; techniques of navigation; types of ships and shipbuilding; cartographic and, finally, economic problems related to discovery. Within these topics the expert will find a fascinating essay on Chinese methods of steering seagoing vessels by means of a rudder, the influence of Iberian ships on those of other seafaring nations, and facets of Portuguese and Spanish map making.

In W. G. L. Randles' essay on the contemporary meaning of the word "discovery," one concept is that of the Italian humanist, Poggio, who praised Prince Henry for reaching out to countries unknown to writers of antiquity, thus enlarging the world beyond the limits fixed by Alexander the Great. According to Luis de Matos, the enormous curiosity of the men of the Renaissance in the discoveries drew many gentlemen into Portuguese service, and men of learning like Erasmus or the future Cardinal Bembo wrote to or talked with Portuguese envoys and visitors abroad. Italy became, in fact, the best place to follow in literary form the development of Portuguese and Castilian overseas enterprise. In listing publications of narratives of voyages, contributors in such fields as literature, bibliography, and navigation feature the advantages of printing for rapidly spreading news of explorations in such a way as to transform Europe's horizons during the fifteenth century.

The role of international capital in financing the voyages of discovery has special interest for me. Relatively new questions are being asked by economic historians trying to probe the financial structure behind these well-known ventures. Jacques Heers suggests study of rates of maritime insurance contracts so as to single out valid discovery voyages from those in which merchants could anticipate profits. His broad survey of Iberian, French, and English undertakings forces him to conclude that foreigners with capital played no important part in early Portuguese discoveries but that the expeditions of Verrazano sponsored by France did recruit funds from Italian bankers at Lyons as well as from Norman businessmen. If there was no direct role for international capital, a good case is made for its indirect influence in that Italian traffic with Iberian ports in Sicilian wheat, salt, and merino wool fostered the development of native Iberian businessmen. Cities like Seville and Burgos developed the means and capitalistic techniques necessary for the great maritime and colonial expansion of the future.

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Within this volume, then, in both breadth and detail, may be discovered several additions to the mosaic of cultural and economic changes that opened the world to Europe.

Holyoke Community College RUTH A. MCINTYRE

THE DYNAMICS OF MODERNIZATION: A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE HISTORY. By *C. E. Black*. [Publication of the Center of International Studies, Princeton University.] (New York: Harper and Row. 1966. Pp. x, 207. $5.95.)

"I have written this book to explain things to myself," Professor Black begins his preface. "I hope that others will find it interesting." What he sets out to explain is nothing less than the forces that have shaped human history since the end of the Middle Ages. He finds them in the ever-quickening growth of man's knowledge of his natural environment and in the resulting rapid changes in his relations to other men. Black considers in turn five aspects—intellectual, political, economic, social, and psychological—of this modern revolution, but the first two emerge as crucial. The advance of knowledge, its application in material technology and social organization, and its transmission through education are of the very essence of modernization. But it is the political order within any given country that provides the scope and sets the pace for such application and transmission. And political relations among countries, particularly colonial conquest, resistance to it, and liberation from it, have supplied the chief dynamics by which modernization has become universal.

Having traced the beginnings of the transformation in the European Renaissance, Black analyzes seven patterns of modernization that he distinguishes by seven political criteria: Britain and France, which emerged in the early modern period as organized states with a well-defined territory and an effective administrative service; the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, which began as overseas offshoots from the first pattern; other countries of Europe, where administrative capacity was reduced by excessive colonial burdens (Spain, Portugal), or by fragmentation of territory (Germany, Italy), or by widening rifts between dynastic rulers and subject nationalities (East Central and Southeast Europe); Latin American offshoots of this third pattern; Russia, Japan, Turkey, China, and other countries, which, by a policy of "defensive modernization," were able to borrow from the West itself the tools with which to resist its expansion; in some recent colonies of the Western Powers the "traditional cultures [were] sufficiently well developed [to] interact with those of the more modern tutelary societies in their adaptation to modern functions" (mainly Southern Asia and the Middle East); the remainder (mainly tropical Africa and Oceania) had no such basis for interaction.

Within each of these patterns, Black distinguishes four successive phases: the "Challenge of Modernity," the "Consolidation of Modernizing Leadership," "Economic and Social Transformation," and the "Integration of Society." Once again, it is political criteria, such as major revolutions, new constitutions, and

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declarations of independence, that serve as the landmarks in the transition from one phase to the next.

Black's analysis is impressive in its intellectual economy. Few historians have been able to explain so many facts by so few basic principles. His commitment to rational explanation contrasts strikingly with the irrational dogmatism of a Spengler and the anguished mysticism of a Toynbee. His very style, clear, subdued, and spare, reinforces the impression of sobriety; it also tends to hide his originality. Kibitzing on Black's attempt to explain things to himself, a reader may get the mistaken notion of having known this much all along.

A work as comprehensive and concise can be approached and criticized from many angles. Personally, I find only minor flaws. I wish, for example, that in presenting his concept of modernization Black had more fully overcome the historian's characteristic distaste for formal definition; nor do I see what the argument gains from the table that lists the 148 countries of the world and tries to specify the dates at which they entered each of the phases of modernization. And, waiving my objections against the schematism, I find myself tempted to quibble with many of the dates. Again, I can sympathize with the author's decision to omit all footnotes in a work concerned with broad interpretation rather than narrow detail. Still, the reader's appetite for further knowledge is sure to be whetted, and a few references could have satisfied him. The bibliographical essay in the appendix serves a different purpose: it gives not Black's own sources, but his thoughtful critique of other works on comparative history or on modernization.

The book's virtues are many, and they are solid. "Modernization" has lately become a catchword among political scientists and sociologists, and many of them have written about the postcolonial problems of "political development," of "new nations," or of "nation building." Black's historical approach adds the necessary depth, and it enables him to encompass Western, Communist, and underdeveloped countries in one perspective. His emphasis on government and political leadership corrects a widespread tendency to see in politics a mere reflection of economic or social conditions. The author's plain English provides welcome relief from the scholastic neologisms of the structural-functional school. His view of modernization as a single process with seven or more variations allows room for human choice—a vast improvement on the unilinear concept of social evolution espoused by Karl Marx, W. W. Rostow, and many others.

Rostow, it may be recalled, gave to his book on *The Stages of Economic Growth* the somewhat grandiloquent subtitle *A Non-Communist Manifesto.* To Black, as a historian of modern Russia, the dialogue with Marx and the Marxists comes more naturally, and he speaks his part softly and with detachment. For all the importance he accords to politics, Black insists that increasing knowledge is the mainspring of modernization. In the continuing contest for world hegemony between democrats and Communists, he therefore predicts victory for the side that will develop the more adequate understanding of the forces of modernization. Among recent American authors, Black himself has made the most lucid single contribution to such better understanding.

Columbia University DANKWART A. RUSTOW

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POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN ENGLAND AND THE ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC. By *J. R. Pole*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1966. Pp. xvii, 606. $16.50.)

This big book, divided into five parts, ranges from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth and covers a variety of topics not all of which are adequately described by the title. Part One outlines the ideas of Harrington, Sidney, and Locke on representation; Part Two is an account of the evolution of political institutions in colonial Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Virginia; Part Three contains a discussion of constitution making in the same three colonies after they became states in 1776, with a final section on the Constitutional Convention of 1787; Part Four presents an essay on the development of representation in Britain from the seventeenth century to the Reform Act of 1832; and, Part Five, "The Comparative Dimension," attempts to compare political developments in Britain and America. An appendix includes voting statistics for various American states, all of which have been published previously in American journals.

The central theme of the book is the transition from the idea that members of legislatures should represent "interests" (landed, commercial, professional, and the like) to the idea that legislators should represent men as men, as political individuals, whatever their "interests." The study is not, however, limited to theory. The author demonstrates how political leaders used theories of representation to achieve mundane political ends, as did the "Whigs" of eastern Massachusetts in 1776 and the English Whigs in the Reform Act of 1832.

The book also contains much on the political history of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Virginia as colonies and as states. American specialists will disagree with some of the interpretations, which are not always in line with the intensive research now being done in the ever more lively fields of American colonial and revolutionary history. The book will repay study, nevertheless, for the generalizations offer new insights, even when they are controversial. The author, an Englishman educated in England and then trained in American history in this country, looks at American history from a different perspective than most American historians. Historians from other countries can tell us much about our own history, even if we do not always agree with them.

University of Wisconsin Merrill Jensen

ISTORIIA SOTSIALISTICHESKIKH UCHENII [History of Socialist Doctrines]. Edited by *B. F. Porshnev*. [Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1964. Pp. 489.)

In this collection of fourteen articles and three short notices dedicated to the memory of Soviet academician V. P. Volgin, Soviet and European Communist specialists have analyzed the thought of some representative utopian socialists (broadly defined to include such diverse men and groups as Jean Meslier, the Levellers, Rousseau, Fourier, Saint-Simon, the Chartists, Mazzini, the Petrashevtsy, Herzen, and Ogarev) in order to establish an ideologically "correct" relationship between Western and Russian precursors of scientific socialism. As

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part of a continuing effort to shake off the depressing effects of Stalin's campaign to discredit all influence of Western socialist thought (except for Marx) on Russia, the volume elaborates Volgin's own views that "Utopian Socialism played in its time a progressive role . . ." and that the problem of transforming utopian into scientific socialism was raised in Russia before Marx only to have Russia's social and economic backwardness prevent the Russians themselves from providing a solution. One obvious result of this quest for historical legitimacy is the selection from the writings of the utopians of just those elements that later were incorporated into the sacred canons of Marxism in order to justify the contention that socialist thought in the nineteenth century moved forward in a single valid direction. Thus, despite the scholarly apparatus and heavy reliance on primary works, the volume represents little more than an arid rehash of Plekhanov and Lenin, without their polemical style, to be sure, but also without any new insights.

The increased attention given in Eastern and Western Europe to Marx's early notebooks and to the concept of alienation of the workers finds no echo here. The authors display, moreover, complete indifference to and ignorance of newly developed methodological tools in investigating political socialization. In the article by V. R. Leikina-Svirskaia, "Utopicheskii sotsializm Petrashevtsev," for example, social awareness is attributed simply to the appearance of "progressive people." How people become "progressive" does not concern the author. Without deserting the socialist camp Soviet scholars could learn much from their Polish colleagues in the *Warszawakji Institut,* the Poznań and Szczecin divisions of the Academy of Sciences, and the *Urbanisticki Institut* of Poland. Until Soviet writing on political ideas moves out of the realm of Marxist-Leninist exegesis and seeks new approaches rooted in empirical data, it will be necessary to look elsewhere for stimulating contributions on this subject by Marxist scholars.

University of Pennsylvania ALFRED J. RIEBER

ISLAM, EUROPE AND EMPIRE. By *Norman Daniel.* [Language and Literature, Number 15.] (Edinburgh: University Press; distrib. by Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago. 1966. Pp. xvii, 619. $15.00.)

IN 1960 Norman Daniel published *Islam and the West: The Making of An Image,* which was focused on medieval attitudes; the present volume carries his study forward to the period between the French Revolution and World War I and documents the extraordinary persistence of ignorance and prejudice about Islam. Despite increasing contacts between the West and the Muslim world, and despite the increasing number of individual Europeans whose views of Islam were enlightened and sympathetic, Western opinion on the whole clung to the inherited notion that "Islam was a sexually corrupt tyranny based on false teaching." To prove the point, the author builds a "mosaic of quotations," from diplomats, adventurers, missionaries, journalists, novelists, and dramatists, mostly British and French. Extracts too long for the text appear in appendixes to the separate chapters, and there are seventy pages of notes and thirty pages of

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bibliography. Even so, as the author notes, he has not attempted a comprehensive record, but has singled out movements that are particularly productive of significant quotations: the Anglo-French competition for the Muslim states during the Napoleonic era; the activities of Catholic and Protestant missionaries in Africa and India; and the European response to such anti-imperialist reactions as that of Arabi in Egypt and of the Mahdi in the Sudan.

The result is a work of uneven quality and interest. One wishes that the author had been more selective and that he had pruned quotations and weeded out repetitions. He appears uncomfortable in dealing with Turkey, India, and other Asian countries, where his accounts tend either to be perfunctory or to bog down in the minutiae of diplomatic history. On the other hand, he seems thoroughly at home in writing about Africa. His chapters on the French and Anglican "civilizing missions" there and on the differences of Western opinion about early manifestations of African nationalism are the best in the book. In particular, his dissection of the legends about the Mahdi and his followers is most instructive and an excellent vindication of the author's thesis that "new images came to be reflected in the old distorting mirror."

University of Rochester JOHN B. CHRISTOPHER

GUERRE TOTALE ET GUERRE RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE. Volume I, LE XIX^e SIÈCLE, LA PREMIÈRE GUERRE MONDIALE ET LA RÉVOLUTION RUSSE; ATLAS; Volume II, L'ENTRE-DEUX-GUERRES. LA PÉRIODE D'EXPANSION DE L'ORDRE NOUVEAU (SEPTEMBRE 1931–NOVEMBRE 1942); ATLAS. In four volumes. By *Henri Bernard*. (Brussels: Brepols. 1965; 1966. Pp. 454; unnumbered; 472; unnumbered. 350 fr. B. the set.)

HENRI Bernard surveys the development of warfare in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The first two volumes cover the period 1815 to October 1942, at which time Axis power reached its height in World War II.

His title clearly states his objective of studying the two kinds of warfare that have evolved during the past 150 years: conventional or total conflict among nations and revolutionary war conceived and practiced by Marxist-Leninists. "It is incontestable, alas," he writes, "that the noncommunist countries, torn apart by the two total wars they fought in the 20th century, have alone permitted the success won in the past 47 years by [the proponents of] revolutionary war." All the Communists need to conquer the world, Bernard says, quoting Mao, is a third world war. He tries to show why this is so.

Bernard writes on a broad canvas and from comprehensive knowledge. He displays the rigorous logic of the European scholar, always positive, usually didactic, sometimes textbookish, yet often personal. His facts are sound; his ideas interesting; his insights keen. If it is occasionally surprising to find no mention of works regarded as standard in the English-speaking world, such as official British and American volumes on World War II, this must be an oversight, for he understands their content.

Unashamedly a military historian, he is concerned with relating military de-

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velopments to the political, social, economic, and other changes that affect and are in turn affected by military events. So catholic is his outlook that the normal substance of military history is somewhat de-emphasized: of his six chapters devoted to the period 1815–1914, only one is concerned with the American Civil War; the others deal with politics, economics, science, and technology.

This technique is feasible because his first eighty pages consist of a brilliant essay that defines and explains the principles and rules of warfare, the organization of armies, the fundamentals of strategy and tactics, the methods of mobilization and supply, the role of command. Having settled once and for all these more or less esoteric matters, he carries us immediately to the stage of world history, where he illuminates the motives of men and the ideas and forces of the past 150 years that have shaped our lives today. The resulting historical account integrates the general and the particular, the latter of course being the military factors which, in this context, are never purely military.

Alexandria, Virginia MARTIN BLUMENSON

AUSTRALIANS AND THE GOLD RUSH: CALIFORNIA AND DOWN UNDER, 1849–1854. By *Jay Monaghan*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1966. Pp. 317. $6.50.)

JAY Monaghan's new book is valuable for its unusually vivid, colorful description of life in both Australia and California during the period of the gold rushes to those two remote regions. Monaghan writes well and is skilled at constructing a persuasive impression of conditions prevailing in California and down under between 1849 and 1854.

As this comment perhaps suggests, the book is primarily narrative—and good narrative, at that. The author makes no attempt to analyze or interpret the phenomena he is describing. That task has been rather well done in Geoffrey Blainey's *The Rush That Never Ended* (1963). Nor is Monaghan as critical as one might wish in his acceptance of evidence and assertion. But for giving the reader a lively, detailed, thoroughly interesting account, his volume is first-rate. Monaghan has read widely in Australian local newspapers of the period, and he has made good use of the abundant autobiographical accounts written by participants in the Australian rush. To the information thus gained he has added an informed imagination, in order to supply the small details that make for vividness and that give the reader a sense that he himself is present in the scenes described. At all times the author has correlated his Australian findings with a knowledge of parallel developments in California.

Beyond the descriptive pleasure thus provided, publication of the book serves at least two further significant purposes. First, it reminds us that the links between California and Australia were more numerous and important than is sometimes appreciated. Second, it demonstrates how much more settled and sedate was Australia than California at the moment when the two territories stumbled into their respective gold rushes. But where Australian historians have drawn disparaging comparisons between Australian peacefulness and "California lawlessness" during the ensuing rushes, Monaghan's narrative seems to imply

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that there were more disorder, dishonesty, and fumbling administration of justice in Australia than we have been led to believe.

California Institute of Technology RODMAN W. PAUL

PERVYI INTERNATSIONAL [The First International]. Part 1, 1864–1870; Part 2, 1870–1876. [K Stoletiiu Osnovaniia Mezhdunarodnogo Tovarishchestva Rabochikh, 1864–1964.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Mysl'." 1964; 1965. Pp. 582; 631.)

IN 1964 the centennial of the founding of the International Workingmen's Association (First International) passed almost without notice in the United States. But this was not so in Europe, where many conferences and commemorative events were held in several countries and where a large number of books and special editions of periodicals marked the anniversary. These two volumes, together with the publication in a variety of languages of the records of the International's General Council, mark the most significant contributions of Soviet scholars, and welcome, useful contributions they are.

Of a total of thirty-six chapters in the two volumes, twenty-one deal with the development of the organization in specific countries or regions, while the remainder survey its origins, major crises, and historical significance. So far as the Soviet view of the International is concerned, the conclusions here are predictable and not very enlightening: the International represented the "union of scientific communism and the labor movement," a "splendid school for proletarian revolutionaries," and its "great service" was in its "awakening of the revolutionary energy of the proletarian masses themselves." More interesting is the all too brief discussion of the role played by the International in the development of Marxism itself. Though Marxism could not save the International, the International may well have saved Marxism. As Lenin pointed out, Marxism was until the International merely one of many socialist currents; after the International the Marxists were the strongest radical faction in Germany and much of Central Europe and were making gains on the Narodniks in Russia. In the view of the collaborators on these volumes this was all planned, deliberate, and inevitable, but the anarchists almost had the 1872 congress convened in Switzerland or Belgium; had they succeeded we would be reading a different story. The copious, highly selective quotations from the Russian archives are not going to change anyone's views of the Marxist-anarchist struggle, but they indicate once again that Bakunin and his people have not been forgiven for their telling blows against a General Council dominated by Marx.

This and several other objections aside, however, these serviceable volumes provide a comprehensive Soviet Marxist survey of the organization that sent Bismarck, Thiers, and Alexander II into transports of fear and rage. The chapters on Switzerland, France, and Serbia are especially good, and B. S. Itenberg's treatment of the International and the Russian revolutionary movement is excellent. On the other hand, the chapter on the Paris Commune exaggerates the role of the International; that on Portugal is virtually without value; and

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K. V. Solov'eva's study of the Russian section is a sketch of a standard and untenable view. But, on the whole, Irena Bakh, who directed the undertaking, and her associates have put together a scholarly memorial for which all students of the International will be grateful.

University of Virginia WOODFORD D. MCCLELLAN

A FIGHT FOR GOD, 1870–1939. By *H. Daniel-Rops.* Translated from the French by *John Warrington.* [History of the Church of Christ, Volume IX.] (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1966. Pp. x, 452. $10.00.)

THIS work, published in 1963 as *Un Combat pour Dieu,* is the second part of *L'Église des Révolutions,* Volume VI in the *Histoire de l'Église du Christ* by the late Daniel-Rops. A third part and a final volume, "L'Église des Nouveaux Apôtres," were in preparation before the author's death in 1965. *A Fight for God,* a skillful translation, is a condensation approved by the author. Unfortunately, it omits Chapter XII of the French version on the intellectual and cultural renewal in the Catholic Church after 1870 and Chapter XIII on the spiritual revival evidenced by Eucharistic congresses, pilgrimages, and saints. The critical bibliography is replaced by an abbreviated list of the essential works cited by the author.

From 1870 to 1939, according to Daniel-Rops, the Catholic Church was engaged in a critical struggle against positivism, materialism, the "atheistic humanism" of Nietzsche and Marx, and totalitarianism, which led to a decline in religious practice and a breakdown in the Christian structure of society. The Church, however, continued to be active in all areas, intellectual, political, moral, and social, under the leadership of four great popes, Leo XIII, Pius X, Benedict XV, and Pius XI. Their authority had increased mainly as the result of the policies of Pius IX. Daniel-Rops stresses the diplomatic genius and social vision of Leo XIII, the struggle of Pius X against Modernism, and the interest of Pius XI in Catholic Action, social Catholicism, and the defense of Christian principles against fascist and Communist doctrines. Because of their manifold activities he concludes that before the Second World War the Church was in a much stronger and more independent position, more vigorous intellectually and spiritually, and more influential throughout the world. In Chapter XIII he did, however, foresee a continuing threat from atheistic humanism, the industrialization of society, the growing numbers in non-Christian faiths, and the disunity of Christians.

The work is generally moderate in tone, although the author tends to regard most anticlericals as hostile to religion. His portraits of Pius IX, X, and XI are not sufficiently critical, yet he admits that they made some errors in judgment. Some of his conclusions may have to be revised, he says, when the Vatican Archives are opened for this period. His sources are chiefly memoirs, biographies, and histories of the Church. His narrative is well organized, vivid, and redolent with religious fervor. The English translation of this comprehensive and interesting account of the development of a great Christian institution in a critical

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period is a valuable addition to the literature on the subject for the general public and students, but not for the specialist.

State University College, New Paltz, New York EVELYN M. ACOMB

DIAGNOSTIC DE L'ÉVOLUTION ÉCONOMIQUE DU TIERS-MONDE 1900–1966. By *Paul Bairoch*. [Collection Techniques économiques modernes, Series Histoire et Pensée économiques, Number 2.] (Paris: Gauthier-Villars Éditeur. 1967. Pp. 228.)

THIS is a valiant attempt to summarize in quantitative form the recent economic history of what French-speaking people call the "third world"—the underdeveloped and developing countries of Latin America, Africa, and Asia, including Communist China. The author, a Belgian economist, is not entirely to blame for the fact that the attempt is less than wholly successful.

The main problem is lack of adequate and reliable statistical data, especially for the first half of the twentieth century; in fact, most of the statistics given pertain to the last fifteen or twenty years, and most of the remainder are presented in such global terms as to be of little value for detailed analysis. Another formidable obstacle to synthetic treatment is the great variety of experience of the more than 150 countries and territories constituting the *tiers monde*. The author attempts to solve this problem by restricting his detailed observations to a "representative" sample of twenty-four countries containing together more than 80 per cent of the population of the countries concerned. Of these countries, China and India alone account for more than half the total. But even this simplification does not avoid the difficulties of analysis presented by the vastly different histories of the independent republics of Latin America, which in themselves contain many contrasts, by the former European colonies in Africa and Asia, and by the gyrations of imperial-Nationalist-Communist China. Undaunted, the author presents his data according to conventional classifications: population, agricultural production, extractive industries, manufacturing, foreign trade, educational levels, and "macroeconomic data," involving national income and capital formation.

Difficulties of data and analysis notwithstanding, the author's conclusions are scarcely surprising: the gap between rich and poor countries is widening; agricultural production is not keeping pace with population growth; and the demographic explosion threatens the *tiers monde* with an absolute decline in living standards. His policy recommendations for the solution of the resultant problems would do credit to the editorial pages of a small provincial newspaper.

Santiago, Chile RONDO CAMERON

THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND JAPAN. By *Raymond A. Esthus*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1966. Pp. 329. $7.95.)

THIS study is a detailed re-examination of Japanese-American relations during the crucial years from the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War through the Japanese-American immigration crises of 1906–1909. Much of this ground was

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previously explored by such luminaries as Tyler Dennett, Thomas A. Bailey, and A. Whitney Griswold. Professor Esthus, however, has been able to refine and even to modify earlier conclusions by supplementing his research in American diplomatic sources with reading in the microfilm of the Japanese Foreign Office records. From these records, Esthus confirms that conservative Japanese government leaders were no less anxious than their American counterparts to resolve amicably the unexpected difficulties that arose between the United States and Japan after 1905.

Esthus credits Theodore Roosevelt's intervention in the peace negotiations between the Russians and the Japanese at Portsmouth in 1905 with saving the parleys from breaking down, but he also concludes that a peace treaty could not have been completed had not Sergei Witte, Russia's chief delegate, disobeyed an order by Nicholas II to break off negotiations and had not the Japanese decided that it was absolutely essential to end the war. He found no evidence that the contemporary Taft-Katsura "agreed memorandum" was a bargain by which Roosevelt sacrificed Korea to Japan in return for a Japanese promise to refrain from disturbing the United States in the Philippines. In addition, he maintains that the Root-Takahira exchange in 1908 represented in part a failure by Japan to win American recognition of its claims in Manchuria.

Esthus observes quite correctly that the United States Navy enjoyed a large preponderance in capital ships over the Japanese fleet during the years of his study, but he fails to stress that American strategists had yet to determine how this superior naval force could be dispatched and maintained in the Western Pacific. Surely, this basic American weakness was a major factor that underlay Roosevelt's elaborately courteous treatment of Japan.

University of Texas WILLIAM R. BRAISTED

DU TRIPARTISME À L'ORGANISATION INTERNATIONALE DU TRAVAIL. By *Éliane Vogel-Polsky*. Preface by *Léon-Éli Troclet*. [Études du Centre National du droit social.] ([Brussels:] Éditions de l'Institut de Sociologie de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles. 1966. Pp. xv, 352. 420 fr. B.)

THE International Labor Organization is the only institution created by the Treaty of Versailles that survived World War II. It continues to provide a forum and quasi legislature for the discussion of workers' problems by representatives of labor, employers, and government.

From its founding the organization has faced the problem of contested delegations. This monograph examines how it resolved such questions and the principles that emerged in the process. Although delegations have been contested for different reasons, the underlying cause of conflict has been that the founders of the organization assumed that "tripartism" (representation of workers, employers, and governments) would function in the framework of a liberal, capitalist society. The Bolshevik revolution and the rise of fascist states created unanticipated problems, problems that became more complex after World War II when the number of socialist states increased. Even in the "traditionally democratic states," moreover, nationalized industries, with the state as employer,

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became more frequent. There have been a number of contested worker delegations from democratic, capitalist states, often when, as in the case of France and Italy, more than one central labor organization existed; most of the conflicts, however, have been over worker and employer delegations from Communist states. While labor representatives have been challenged on the grounds that workers' organizations in Communist states lack the freedom called for by the charter of the organization, employer representatives have also been challenged because they were not genuine representatives of industry but rather of their governments. The guiding principle that has emerged from the many decisions of the organization is that, in order to have as large a membership as possible, worker and employer delegates from Communist states should be admitted, even if this requires a loose interpretation of the charter.

The author's main source has been the proceedings of the *Commission de verification des pouvoirs,* the body responsible for making recommendations on challenged delegations. Although the approach of this well-documented monograph is legalistic, and the author, who is not a historian, fails to discuss many questions that historians are likely to ask, the labor and diplomatic historian, who skims and skips, will find the book interesting. And other historians may be encouraged about the future after seeing how the International Labor Organization has been able to make a considerable contribution, despite the sharp ideological differences of many of its members.

San Jose State College DAVID I. KULSTEIN

THE SUMMIT CONFERENCES, 1919–1960. By *Keith Eubank.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 225. $5.95.)

PROFESSOR Eubank has set out to recall and recount what happened at seven summit conferences: the Paris Peace Conference in 1919; the meeting at Munich in 1938, which settled the fate of Czechoslovakia; the two wartime conferences of the Allies at Tehran in 1943 and Yalta in 1945; the meeting at Potsdam later in 1945, with the assigned task of dealing with the whole world unsettled by the war; and, after a great leap in circumstances, the meeting at Geneva in 1955 that brought Eisenhower and Khrushchev together while the cold war was at its peak; lastly, the abortive conference with Khrushchev at Paris in 1960 that ended before it really had begun when the U-2 plane was shot down.

The historical narrative is necessarily compressed and highly selective. It smooths out matters of such dramatic consequence that it might be said to provide gobbets of history rather than goblets.

Yet the narrative is praiseworthy because of its general factual reliability, brevity, and sense of essentials. About three features my judgment differs from Eubank's. He attributes more significance and reality to the slight secret contacts between the German and Russian secret agents in Switzerland during the war than they had. Second, his treatment of Roosevelt's attempts to gain the friendship and trust of Stalin is naïve. True, the President was engaged throughout the war in a sustained effort to retain Soviet cooperation after the war. But he realized clearly that Stalin was going to extract the highest possible price for

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it. He was willing to have the world pay a higher fee to Russia—not to Communism—than his critics. He would not admit even to himself the possibility that Stalin might decide that much more could be had by force and guile than by compromise and trust but developments were forcing that conclusion on him when he died. The responsibility for decision passed to Truman. Similarly, I think Eubank exaggerates the strain between Roosevelt and Churchill. He misses their real congeniality and underrates the important results of their frequent meetings.

The historical narrative is intended mainly to evaluate the usefulness of summit conferences—their advisability, their risks of failure, and their difficulties as compared to other methods of negotiation. In discussing this complicated matter the author sometimes seems to explain and appraise the resultant occurrences as primarily owing to the fact that heads of states themselves forgather instead of using their trained staffs. At other times he indicates that the outcome of the negotiations was primarily a consequence of the power, prejudices, principles, and internal situations of the conferring countries. The author's comments understandably fluctuate from one interpretation to the other.

His general conclusions are acceptable but not novel as when he writes "the fruits of these summit conferences warrant their use to a limited degree as a regular proceeding of diplomacy. But the record is proof that meetings of heads of governments will not solve the ills of the world." Of course they will not. These ills will not be solved unless all the nations, especially the more powerful ones, have a far deeper concern for peace, and their leaders far greater foresight. The record shows how often, through misguided judgments as well as willful ones, they all blundered.

Yet because of the speed of travel with supersonic planes and the perpetual presence of the whole world in every government office showered down from the satellites, the prospect is that, in effect, the heads of governments of the world will henceforth be engaged in a continuous summit conference.

York, Maine HERBERT FEIS

THE BROKEN SEAL: THE STORY OF "OPERATION MAGIC" AND THE PEARL HARBOR DISASTER. By *Ladislas Farago*. (New York: Random House. 1967. Pp. 439. $6.95.)

THE role of "Magic"—the secret decrypting of Japanese diplomatic and military communications—in the Pearl Harbor crisis is well known, and much has been written about it. There is still need for a comprehensive, documented, and critical study of the Japanese-American intelligence "war" in the Pacific prior to Pearl Harbor. This book supplies much interesting and little-known detail on the subject, but from a historian's point of view, the need remains.

Written in a "popular" vein, it inevitably raises doubts as to its strict historicity. It is supported by an extensive bibliography, but as this is presented only in general bibliographical discussions appended to the several chapters, with no references from the text statements to the specific sources on which they are

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based, this is not helpful, leaving the reader with the impression that the sources have been used uncritically. Lack of credibility is the vice of all books I have read on espionage and intelligence, and Farago does not escape it. Authors tend to claim too much for the value of the intelligence coups they report, as Farago, for example, does in his account of Herbert O. Yardley's contribution to the Washington Conference, and they seldom succeed in relating the intelligence acquired to the formulation of national policy.

Farago only confuses the issue by trying to combine a political history of the origins of the Pacific War with his account of the intelligence operations that preceded it. Although he disclaims the purpose, it remains with him and gives rise to some questionable dicta. The jacket claims are, as usual, outrageous. There are no "astounding revelations." Farago has used the later Japanese memoirs and interrogations, unavailable at the time of the Pearl Harbor investigation, to fill out many interesting bits of the record, and his climactic account of intelligence in the tight hours of December 6 and 7 is perhaps more clearly detailed than some others, but it is hardly sensational. He has amassed considerable information not generally well known, and he will doubtless have to be consulted, with caution, by historians of the Pacific War and its origins. But a sober history of intelligence in the pre-Pearl Harbor era remains to be written.

New York, New York WALTER MILLIS

DEUTSCHLANDS ARABERPOLITIK IM ZWEITEN WELTKRIEG. By *Heinz Tillmann*. [Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Allgemeine Geschichte an der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Number 2.] (Berlin: VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften. 1965. Pp. 473.)

PROFESSOR Tillmann provides a survey of Germany's policy toward the Arab states and colonial areas from the eve of World War II until the fall of Tunisia, when Germany lost all direct touch with them and the Axis was clearly on the defensive on all fronts. The emphasis is upon the states of Asia Minor and the Arabian Peninsula, with Turkey and Iran thrown in with the actual Arab states for good measure.

The author has worked diligently through the literature and the unpublished diplomatic materials to be found in both portions of Germany. He was particularly successful in supplementing materials in the Foreign Office Archive in Bonn with others found in the Potsdam-Merseburg Archives, demonstrating again that these materials form a single unit, the dispersion of which greatly reduces the value of both collections.

Unfortunately, the Stalinist-Marxist approach to history has destroyed most of the value of this book and made it far less readable than it should be. The author makes it clear that his book was written primarily to discredit the West Germans, whom he sees as the fitting heirs of Nazi Germany, in the Arab world by showing that the Nazis were really no more friends of the Arabs than were the British and French. In order to support this thesis, Tillmann often goes beyond the evidence he presents. He has a habit of making a broad accusation against either Germany or the Western Allies in the first half of a sentence. He

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then ties this statement to a carefully documented quotation in the second portion, which lends some verisimilitude to his allegation. He also throws in quotations from general Marxist-Stalinist histories to support such general accusations. The result is that one wonders about the manner in which he selected and used his evidence. In essence, he has seriously weakened, if not destroyed, the basic value of a work that could have been a worthwhile addition to our knowledge of German policy in the Second World War.

The polemical aim and nature of the book also distort its perspective. Nazi plans regarding the Near East and North Africa are moved from the wings to center stage, although to do this the suggestions and proposals of individual diplomats in distant outposts have to be presented as representing German policy, and casual, typically grandiose remarks of leading Nazis are construed to be serious policy proposals. This distortion also applies to his presentation of the Allies and their plans. Thus, he inflates the vague and semicomic French proposals of 1940 for bombing missions in the Caucasus into serious plans for a large-scale campaign against Russia based on the Near East, and he interprets appeasement and the *Sitzkrieg* exclusively in terms of Allied desires to incite the Germans to attack the Soviet Union.

The style of the book also suffers seriously from its political connections and from repetition. The jargon of political Communism is seriously overworked, so that the reader is tempted to count the number of times such words as "Imperialist aggressors" or "faschistischen Achsenmächte" are used. The footnotes consist of numbers keyed to the bibliography to the sorrow of the serious reader. In short, on all fronts, this work is a sad example of how Clio suffers when harnessed to a political chariot.

University of Massachusetts HAROLD J. GORDON, JR.

BATTLES LOST AND WON: GREAT CAMPAIGNS OF WORLD WAR II. By *Hanson Baldwin.* (New York: Harper and Row. 1966. Pp. xi, 532. $10.00.)

ELEVEN major battles of World War II, as described and analyzed by the distinguished military editor of the New York *Times,* are included in this vast "cross-section of the world's greatest war." Not all of these battles were decisive in the full sense of that word, but most were pivotal or else hold some other unique or dramatic attraction for the military historian. There is something for every interest: land campaigns (Poland, Stalingrad, the Bulge); amphibious assaults (Sicily, Tarawa, Normandy); a combination (Bataan-Corregidor); aerial struggles (the Battle of Britain); air-sea fights (Leyte Gulf and the prelude to Okinawa); and an airborne invasion (Crete). While several of these accounts have appeared in print before, they have been revised or expanded for publication in this volume.

Baldwin's audience is the general reader, and for him he writes with verve, drama, and an eye for colorful detail. For the scholar he includes solid documentation, useful bibliographies, and lengthy comments on controversial or elusive points. His descriptions are accurate and thoughtful, based largely on

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secondary sources, buttressed in many cases by additional research, and usually checked by participants or experts in the battles in question. For Leyte Gulf, Baldwin had the commendable inspiration to print the line-by-line comments on his narrative by Admirals Halsey and Kinkaid, the two protagonists in one of the most controversial episodes of the war.

The book's focus is essentially on the tactical level, on small units or individuals struggling through the fog of battle. Yet Baldwin also devotes considerable space to discussions of strategy, alternate courses of action, and lessons and mistakes. It is here perhaps that he makes his greatest contribution, praising or condemning in crisp, forthright, vigorous prose. Readers familiar with his views will recognize, for example, Baldwin's criticism of the unconditional surrender doctrine or of the Allied failure to strike through the Balkans. He is no less critical on many other points.

Battles Lost and Won is thus a highly dramatic and provocative study of many important aspects of World War II. It represents the sum of years of writing and thinking about that conflict and carries the authority of long experience and reflection on military affairs. It is not necessary to agree always with the author's views or conclusions in order to respect them. And, after reading the book, there should be no quarrel with Baldwin's assertion that "military history and drama are compatible; in fact, they are inseparable. . . ."

Industrial College of the Armed Forces STANLEY L. FALK

UNIVERSITIES: BRITISH, INDIAN, AFRICAN. A STUDY IN THE ECOLOGY OF HIGHER EDUCATION. By *Eric Ashby* in association with *Mary Anderson*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1966. Pp. xiii, 558. $12.95.)

To educate "a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect": such words—these from the nineteenth century—summarize the problem of which Eric Ashby writes in his new study of British colonial policy for higher education. "As with cars, so with universities," he writes of educational exports, "we willingly made minor modifications to suit the climate, but we proposed no radical change in design." Ashby calls his study "a history and analysis of ideas about university education in the English speaking countries of tropical Africa, with special attention to the evolution . . . of that body of intentions, beliefs, and prejudices which together are recognized as 'British policy.' " He touches on Indian, Australian, and New Zealand inheritances and briefly speaks of recent American influences in Africa. The study is one of British officialdom; the endless procession of commission and committee reports form the principle source of his investigation and, at times, overwhelm the reader. Views of private citizens, particularly in the affected countries, are only partially presented, and the reader gets a greater sense of the forms of imposition of British educational ideas upon foreign climes than of local development of a desire for (or rejection of or adaptation of) colonial educational models. Ashby looks through a different (and not unimportant) lens than does, say, James Coleman in *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*.

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Ashby's first love is Africa, particularly West Africa, and the book, in spite of its title, is vaguely centered there. It is a pity that he did not choose to focus the entire book here as his grasp of the African scene shows a far surer and subtler touch than his sections on India show. Most interesting are his reflections on his own 1960 Nigerian report; he finds it in 1966 too traditional, not "American" enough. Ashby's ideal, as he develops it, retains Oxbridge "standards," but they are spread across a variety of fields of inquiry reminiscent of the land-grant college.

The book ends abruptly and incongruously with a short chapter on Bantu, Ethiopian, Congolese, and French African practices. It rather needs a brisk summary in the manner of Ashby's earlier works, such as *Technology and the Academics*.

Full notes and a number of key documents are included in a lengthy appendix.

Harvard Graduate School of Education THEODORE R. SIZER

Ancient

ARCHITECTURE IN ANCIENT EGYPT AND THE NEAR EAST. By *Alexander Badawy*. (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1966. Pp. x, 246. $10.00.)

THE architectural tradition of the preclassical, ancient Near Eastern world is rich and full, a tradition with many cultural interconnections. Alexander Badawy, simultaneously an Egyptologist and an architect, has written a lucid and concise account of this architectural tradition set within its historical context. The towns, houses, palaces, temples, tombs, forts, and styles of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor and northern Syria, the Levant (Palestine and the Lebanon), Elam and Persia, and Cyprus are each surveyed in individual chapters and each arranged by geographic locality, with each chapter prologued by the historical environment of the culture in question. The latter portion of the book is devoted to a general discussion and survey of the interconnections and achievement of architecture in the ancient Orient and the Aegean, as well as a chronological synopsis of these interconnections and achievements. Occasionally in the purely historical section Badawy's scholarship is weak on various points; it is, for example, not accepted by all Egyptologists that the Hyksos used the horse-drawn chariot to conquer Lower Egypt and the Delta; nor is there any evidence for Minoan mercenaries being brought into Egypt by Mycenaean sailors to help fight against the Hyksos.

Such historical errors do not, nevertheless, detract from the value of the book for Badawy is, without question, not only the foremost Egyptological architect; he is equally well versed in the architecture of the rest of the ancient Orient. Ancient Near Eastern history is reconstructed partially from written materials and partially from mute documents among which architectural remains

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play a major role. Hence the need for a good, reliable, architectural history of the ancient Orient. Badawy's book will fill a long-empty gap.

Queens College ALAN R. SCHULMAN

LA DIVINATION EN MÉSOPOTAMIE ANCIENNE ET DANS LES RÉGIONS VOISINES: XIVe RENCONTRE ASSYRIOLOGIQUE INTERNATIONALE (STRASBOURG, 2–6 JUILLET 1965). [Bibliothèque des Centres d'Études (Supérieures Spécialisés, Travaux du Centre d'Études Supérieures Spécialisés d'Histoire des Religions de Strasbourg.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1966. Pp. 183. 18 fr.)

TIRED of the multiplicity of purpose, big numbers, and hot air of the great international meetings, scholars everywhere are finding refuge in small, disciplinary gatherings, where the young can meet the old, and an interesting topic can be discussed both at length and at leisure. One such a gathering is the annual *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale,* organized by the French some sixteen years ago. Now, international in scope, the next *Rencontre* is to meet in Chicago in 1967.

The main topic of the Strasbourg meeting was ancient Mesopotamian divination as practiced by the Sumerians, Babylonians, and Assyrians. Neighboring areas were covered in the treatment of divination in Egypt, Anatolia, and the Old Testament, and some comparative aspects in later periods were given attention in the discussion of divination among the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans.

Divination in one form or another is apparently universal. One area left untouched, even unmentioned, in the discussion was that of the pre- and post-Columbian Amerindian civilizations. While the practice of divination among the Sumerians can be deduced from secondary sources and the existence of diviners, it was not until the beginning of the second millennium B.C. that the collecting propensities of the Babylonians and Assyrians began to show their mark. I am referring to the great divination manuals, specifically those dedicated to hepatoscopy and extispicy (liver and entrails) and astrology. There were many techniques, attested by the existence of omens based on dreams, flights of birds, oil in water, smoke from incense, the birth of malformed animals and children, and many others.

Of more immediate interest to the historian are the divinatory sources often misnamed "historical omina." These are standard omina, usually in the field of extispicy, which contain a two-part statement regarding the result of the inspection in the first part (the protasis), and the prediction in the second part (the apodosis), which usually covers a historical event, such as "(this is) the omen of (the king) Naram-Sin, who conquered (the city) Apishal," or "the omen of (the king) Ibbi-Sin, (when the country) Elam reduced (his city) Ur to ruin." Some scholars have contended that such historical omens played a very important role in the beginnings of Mesopotamian historiography. I agree completely, however, with A. K. Grayson that too much emphasis has been laid on the importance of divination in this sphere. The origin of Mesopotamian, and generally ancient Oriental, historiography lies elsewhere.

University of Chicago I. J. GELB

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DISCONTINUITY IN GREEK CIVILIZATION. By *Rhys Carpenter*. [The J. H. Gray Lectures for 1965.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 79. $2.95.)

THESE lectures were persuasively delivered and are persuasively written. They share in the form of the defense of long-disbelieved and unbelievable theories, but they are presented as, and should certainly be read as, the program for serious investigation.

Historically significant results are attributed to the catastrophic ruin of Santorini in the midst of the second millennium. Concerning the event itself, there can be no question. It is obviously possible either to deny any connection between it and the transition from a Minoan to a Mycenaean Aegean, or to see, with Carpenter, a moderate connection, or to explain everything by it, as do certain recent speculations. Either extreme will be long and strenuously supported while evidence for the middle position will accumulate.

To go from Minoan to Mycenaean involves not discontinuity but transformation. The two Greek civilizations that precede 1200 and follow 850 B.C. are alike in both language and religion, which demonstrate at least a minimum of continuity, but they are discontinuous in almost everything else, especially in political and economic organization. Carpenter argues effectively for the presence in the Greece of that time of a climate that, resulting in persistent famine, was utterly hostile to man. If the identification of such conditions of drought as the local manifestation of an ecumenical, perhaps secular, pattern of climatic change is possible, all available evidence for the character and chronology of those climatic changes should be vigorously sought. It may be harder to find than the ashes of Santorini, but its value for the understanding of the Greek dark ages and the beginnings of Hellenism will be all the greater. We may argue at length whether drought and famine can have been the principal agents in destroying Mycenae or Troy, and it may appear better to consider the human destructiveness that impending starvation can produce. But, once they were destroyed, Carpenter's connection of climatic and cultural discontinuities is reasonable.

This book has outlined a thesis that, we may hope, must soon be expounded in full. If only it could then keep the attractiveness of these lectures!

University of Wisconsin EMMETT L. BENNETT, JR.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CAMBRIDGE COLLOQUIUM ON MYCENAEAN STUDIES. Edited by *L. R. Palmer* and *John Chadwick*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1966. Pp. vii, 309. $15.00.)

THIS volume contains twenty-five communications presented at the fourth Mycenaeological colloquium held in Cambridge, England, April 8–12, 1965. The papers are in the fields of epigraphy; dialect and phonology; morphology, word formation, and syntax; and interpretation. Since the book is primarily for philologists concerned with Linear B tablets, the full index of Mycenaean words is important.

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Part II, dealing with dialect, has a little historic interest. The Mycenaean language of the Linear B tablets is the interprovincial Koine evoked by the nature of the age. When the Mycenaean Age collapsed, each component province of the disintegrated order was left with its own vernacular; this explains the diversity of dialects in the alphabetic inscriptions of Greece during the first millennium B.C. See particularly A. Bartonek's article, "Mycenaean *koine* Reconsidered."

In the fourth part, on interpretation, the reader will not find as much history as he might wish. S. Marinato's article on "Polydipsion Argos" touches on aspects of Egyptian influence, and L. J. D. Richardson tells how "The Labyrinth" spread from Knossos as far west as the British Isles. In general, however, the historian will find the pickings lean, and this should not be. As soon as the northwest Semitic character of Minoan becomes generally understood, Minoan studies will revitalize ancient history, and Mycenaean studies will be enlivened by a new dimension.

When Vladimir Georgiev writes on "Le problème du digamma" and makes of "Idomeneus" a name of Hellenic derivation, he not only misinterprets a single name; he also fails to recognize the principle that the "-eus" names in the Heroic Age are generally of non-Greek origin. The initial digamma is not in the Mycenaean or classical Greek forms of the name but only in Georgiev's false etymology ("**widomenos*"). "Idomeneus" is in fact northwest Semitic and means "ruddy"; a well-known type of personal name, it also occurs in the Bible as an adjective describing two heroic men, Esau and David.

The current doldrums of Mycenaean studies as history can be easily explained. In a field where a control of the Mediterranean synthesis is indispensable, the real historical problems lie beyond the grasp of overspecialized scholars. By the accident of discovery the material is in the hand of Hellenists. Semitists are not interested because their horizons no longer extend to the Aegean. Specialization has its place, but Minoan and Mycenaean studies need new blood with a control of Semitic as well as Hellenic sources.

Brandeis University CYRUS H. GORDON

UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUR VERFASSUNGSGESCHICHTE VON ARGOS IM 5. JAHRHUNDERT VOR CHRISTUS. By *Michael Wörrle*. ([Munich: Kommission für Alte Geschichte.] 1964. Pp. 137.)

I APPROACH with suspicion a work that sets out to study in depth a subject on which I have already committed some superficial thoughts to print. Dr. Wörrle's caution and courtesy soon disarm suspicion; he has written a valuable little book.

In the first part of this short thesis he collects the slender evidence for the political and sociopolitical institutions of Argos, the tribal organization, the army, the Council or Councils, and the magistrates, reviews the problems the evidence raises, and, as often as not, reaches the answer *non liquet*. As often as not it is the right answer, and in reaching it he puts the question sharply, sets out alternative answers fairly, and tidies up as much as possible on the way. Particularly

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good is his use of comparative evidence from other states. It often illuminates the Argive situation, sometimes points in this or that direction, but is never allowed to impose a non-Argive answer.

This is not to say that one does not disagree from time to time; for example, I am not persuaded that the mysterious Council of Eighty at Argos was, as Wörrle argues, an aristocratic survival like the Athenian Areopagus, rather than a committee of the ordinary Council like the Athenian prytanes. His objection rests on the formula in Thucydides (v 47), "the Council *and* the Eighty," but this is to press a formula too far. What does he make of the Athenian formulas "the prytaneis *with* the Council" (Tod, *GHI* 51 line 11) or the "Council *and* the prytaneis" (Tod, *GHI* 86 lines 32–33)?

The second part, a story of Argive political and constitutional development during the fifth century, is slightly less satisfactory. This is mainly because the steps that can be singled out must be established, sometimes by discussion of non-Argive affairs, almost always in a wider area of uncertainty. The tolerable, even interesting doubts of Part I are overlaid by even greater doubts, which sometimes seem greater than they need be after the very brief discussion that Wörrle can afford to give them. It is particularly unfortunate that he wrote just before the appearance of Professor M. E. White's conclusive proof, to me, that Themistocles did not flee from Argos before 466 or at the earliest 467—a solid point at last that imposes complete rethinking of the problems of the 460's.

On the central issues, nevertheless, Wörrle is firm and good, as on the consequences of Sepeia. Altogether he creates a satisfying confidence that what he finally accepts as assertable is no more than can be asserted about Argive history in the fifth century.

Wadham College, Oxford W. G. Forrest

ANCIENT SOCIETY AND INSTITUTIONS: STUDIES PRESENTED TO VICTOR EHRENBERG ON HIS 75TH BIRTHDAY. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1967. Pp. xvi, 312. $11.50.)

It is often said, with some justification, that a *Festschrift* guarantees burial for one's work. There are, however, exceptions, and in this respect the collection of essays presented to Victor Ehrenberg is notable. The historian of Greece, in particular, would be hard pressed to name a volume of equal richness.

Of eighteen papers, fifteen are concerned directly with Greece. Sparta is the favorite topic: "The Government of Classical Sparta" (A. Andrewes); "The Lycurgan Rhetra" (A. H. M. Jones); "The Rhianos-Hypothesis" (H. T. Wade-Gery); "The Spartan Ancestral Constitution in Polybius" (F. W. Walbank); and G. T. Griffith's "Isegoria in the Assembly at Athens." The historian of Athens and the Empire must read, in addition to Griffith, "Athenian Settlements Abroad in the Fifth Century B.C." (P. A. Brunt); "Aeschylus and Athenian Politics, 472–456 B.C." (a somewhat fanciful effort by J. A. Davison); "After the Profanation of the Mysteries" (David M. Lewis); "Periclean Imperialism" (H. B. Mattingly continues his persecution of the three-barred sigma); "The Origin of the Delian League" (Raphael Sealey's heresies are at least provoca-

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tive); and "Voting Procedure at the Election of Strategoi" (E. S. Staveley examines a number of complex problems).

E. Badian writes the dedicatory introduction and also a thoughtful study of "Alexander the Great and the Greeks of Asia." "The Estate of Phaenippus (Ps.-Dem. xlii)," by G. E. M. de Ste Croix, includes wise observations on landholding in Attica. R. J. Hopper makes refreshing reading of a familiar puzzle ("The Solonian Crisis"). G. L. Huxley has new ideas on "Troy VIII and the Lokrian Maidens."

Rome attracts three papers: "The Third Cyrene Edict of Augustus" (Kathleen M. T. Atkinson); "Two Halicarnassians and a Lydian" (H. H. Scullard, on the origin of the Etruscans, prefers Herodotus to Dionysius); and "The Anatomy of Force in Late Republican Politics" (R. E. Smith).

A "Vita" and a "Bibliography of Victor Ehrenberg" are useful additions. I regret that the notes are collected after each essay. This first-class volume is well edited and worthy of the great scholar whom it honors.

University of British Columbia MALCOLM F. MCGREGOR

ROMAN VOTING ASSEMBLIES: FROM THE HANNIBALIC WAR TO THE DICTATORSHIP OF CAESAR. By *Lily Ross Taylor*. [Jerome Lectures, Eighth Series.] (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1966. Pp. xix, 175. $7.50.)

ROMAN legalism, perhaps the most pronounced characteristic of that curious people, showed itself in two inconsistent but mutually useful ways: tenacity in the maintenance of legal principles and flexibility in their application to particular circumstances. These, together with a perhaps inevitable confusion of terminology in the sources, have made the study of Roman political institutions one of the most difficult as well as one of the most fascinating occupations of ancient historians from Mommsen's time to the present. Cicero knew the world he lived in, but did not bother to make it clear for posterity. Livy and other historians viewed the past in the light of the present, making their testimony usable only on the basis of thorough analysis. Archaeological evidence—written records such as the Tabula Hebana and the Lex Malacitana, illustrations on coinage, and architectural studies of buildings in the Forum and of the Saepta Julia at Rome and of the Comitium and Curia at Cosa—has, however, been helpful. All this has made it possible for Miss Taylor, drawing on her own long experience and the labor of many scholars, such as Fraccaro and Tibiletti, to present a systematic picture of the system in the last two centuries of the Republic. The magnitude of the task is reflected in the 44 pages of notes as against 113 pages of text. These are not devoted to an endless parade of modern views but to a discussion of problems in the sources, so that we have here analysis as well as synthesis, a working tool for the scholar as well as a clear and readable outline (tabular in part) for the less technical reader.

This is a masterpiece of scholarship and of popularization, a worthy successor to the magisterial series of books and articles that has made the author a top scholar in the field. Here we have the composition and procedures of the four

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Roman assemblies laid out systematically, and if everything is still not completely clear or certain, we have a foundation on which to build. It is something to be grateful for, and a fine forerunner of the promised major work on the same subject to which we look forward.

Yale University C. Bradford Welles

CICERO THE STATESMAN. By *R. E. Smith*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1966. Pp. vii, 268. $8.50.)

It was Professor Smith's aim to compose a biography of Cicero not merely for students and scholars but "for that wider public which is familiar with Cicero and Rome." The resulting book contains almost no footnotes and not the slightest indication that there is dispute about any of the material presented. Smith's narrative is virtually unaffected by scholarly work on the late Republic in the last forty years; it states clearly, if a bit stiffly, the old *communis opinio*. As such, it is a convenient and generally accurate work, a good introduction to the public career of Cicero.

Inevitably a book that does not purport to be a contribution to scholarship is an easy target in a professional review. Smith's old-fashioned account of the First Catilinarian Conspiracy, his unsubtle view of Labienus' role in the Rabirius trial, his recurring description of Clodius as "Caesar's pupil" (or "tool"), his freedom in offering such moral evaluations as "the wickedness of 58" will make scholars familiar with the period feel that they could better spend their time reading something else. Presumably Smith would be the first to agree. The select bibliography of books at the end shows that he has been aware of recent work, and the transitory appearance of Sex. Cloelius, instead of Sex. Clodius, on page 197 shows this even more.

As a general and unpretentious introduction to Cicero, Smith's work suffers chiefly from his passionate hostility to Caesar; such prejudice would be more interesting in a fully documented study. The whole collapse of the Republic seems to be ascribed to Caesar alone, and there is no hint that Caesar might have been as much a symptom as a cause. Milo's gangs are regarded as a beneficent force that neutralized those of Clodius and "allowed the constitution to work again." Furthermore, Smith is too ready to consider Cicero an important political force. The focus is wrong when Smith can end his biography like this: "Caesar begat Domitian, Cicero left no political issue but a memory and a name."

Harvard University G. W. Bowersock

Medieval

MITTELALTERLICHE STUDIEN: AUSGEWÄHLTE AUFSÄTZE ZUR SCHRIFTKUNDE UND LITERATURGESCHICHTE. Volume I. By *Bernhard Bischoff*. (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 1966. Pp. vi, 325, 8 plates. DM 98.)

The twenty-four essays in this collection were originally published in various

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periodicals between the years 1933 and 1962; many of the earlier ones have been considerably revised.

Chronologically Herr Bischoff's interests seem to be centered in the period of the early Middle Ages through the Carolingian Age, although at least one, the Amplonian collection now at Erfurt, deals with a subject as late as the fifteenth century. If many of the essays are brief and their focus by definition thereby narrow, the fewer longer essays suggest that the author is well aware of the larger problems that need elucidation. The longest essay of some sixty-eight pages deals with the turning point of Latin exegesis in the early Middle Ages, an extremely important point in keeping the reader aware of the continuing traditions that link the late Empire with the High Middle Ages. Another somewhat shorter essay deals with that most seminal of all figures from the early Middle Ages, Isidore of Seville, and the European dissemination of his works.

No important errors could be discerned, and there is no criticism beyond the inconsiderable fact that all the Erfurt manuscripts noted in the sixteenth essay are not listed in the index of manuscripts cited. If Volume I suggests more to come, and they meet the high standard of this collection, they will be a welcome accession to anyone interested in the intellectual history of the early Middle Ages.

Emory University FRANCIS S. BENJAMIN, JR.

THE CHURCH IN EARLY IRISH SOCIETY. By *Kathleen Hughes*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 303, 16 plates. $7.50.)

MEDIEVALISTS owe much to those scholars, such as the great Nora K. Chadwick, who are both the leading specialists in the present renaissance in early British history and guides for all scholars over its shifting grounds. More light from Cambridge comes with this major assessment by Kathleen Hughes (Newnham College) of the organization of early Irish Christianity and its societal context, from its beginnings to the aftermath of the Synod of Cashel (1101).

The "Birth" of the Irish Church is discussed in the setting of Celtic heathenism, Mediterranean Christianity, and Gallic and British churches. The "Growth" of the Irish Church from the sixth to the seventh century occurs in the complex development of monastic *paruchiae* and their relationship with traditional episcopal organization, the contacts of "Ireland and the Outside World," and controversies in the Church over doctrine and authority. In the Church's period of "Maturity," preceding the Viking onslaught, the variety in religious life, expression, and discipline is richly illustrated. Hughes describes well the impact of the Viking terror, but, even more important, proves both that many "abuses" usually ascribed to their coming were present in pre-Viking Ireland and stemmed from its social heterogeneity, and that the tenth century, rather than the ninth, was the period of greatest harm resulting from the invasions. In this age of "Adversity and Recovery," secular influences in the Church, always present (Was not family influence in abbatial elections related to rules of inheritance in the *derbfine* and in kingship?), increased, but the "spiritual, intellectual, and artistic life" still illuminated the isle of saints; the eleventh century was

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largely one of restoration. The last chronological division, "Transmutation," discusses the changes in Irish Christianity resulting largely from increased foreign contacts and recognition of the differences separating its insular practices from continental Christianity. The book concludes with a bibliography, well-chosen illustrations, a useful map, and an incomplete index.

Working primarily from the rich variety of sources in literature, archaeology, and art history, the author is also thoroughly aware of modern interpretations and argues her own positions cogently and with moderation. Her central theme of the relationship of the early Irish Church and the society in which it lived is masterfully developed to produce an eminently useful, sound, and important book.

Lawrence University WILLIAM A. CHANEY

SEVEN MEDIEVAL KINGS. By *Joseph Dahmus.* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1967. Pp. 332. $5.95.)

THIS book contains brief biographical essays on Justinian, Harun al-Rashid, Charlemagne, Henry II, Frederick II, Louis IX, and Louis XI. As well as drawing fully upon the stock anecdotal material, the author sketches the social and political background of each ruler and attempts to indicate what crises and challenges he was called upon to meet.

Though the book is not devoid of interest, its major fault is that it falls between two stools; it is written with one eye on the popular audience and one on the professional. A book with but one jejune map, no illustrations (once the dust jacket is removed), a paucity of dates around which the reader may organize the tale, no explanation of who the quoted primary authors are, and without prologue, epilogue, or apologia is apt to be rather bald for a popular market, curious though this market is about the eccentricities of medieval monarchs. And yet a book with no bibliographical or critical apparatus, which makes no attempt to break new ground and which does not attempt to generalize about the problems of medieval political leadership, can serve little scholarly purpose.

This is not to imply that the book is without merit. It begins weakly, probably because the author is most dependent upon others for the early Middle Ages, completely so for the section on Harun al-Rashid, as the repetitions make obvious even if an anonymous prefatory note were not there to warn us. But the judgments become shrewder and more trenchant when we reach the twelfth century. The author's assessment of the Becket controversy is balanced and free of the false drama that afflicts so many popular writers. His presentation of the many pressures upon Frederick II is lucid, and his picture of Louis IX removes some of the priggishness of Joinville's presentation.

There are, inevitably, a few factual errors: Louis VIII was not the first Capetian to die leaving a minor heir. There are also some rather unique views: Charlemagne is not ordinarily considered to have been seven feet tall, no matter how we construe Einhard. The last section, on Louis XI, shows weaknesses of organization, perhaps due to haste. There are many allusions to unidentified figures and uses of "technical" phrases, clear to the professional but not to the

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lay reader. In short, though the book expresses many judicious opinions and offers pleasant casual reading for the historian, it is hard to understand for what audience and at what level it was intended.

State University of New York, Stony Brook JOEL ROSENTHAL

KARL DER GROSSE: LEBENSWERK UND NACHLEBEN. Volume I, PERSÖNLICHKEIT UND GESCHICHTE. Edited by *Helmut Beumann.* Volume II, DAS GEISTIGE LEBEN. Edited by *Bernhard Bischoff.* (2d ed.; Düsseldorf: Verlag L. Schwann. 1966. Pp. 857; 306. DM 88; DM 40.)

THE personality and the work of Charlemagne were the themes of the Tenth Exhibition sponsored by the *Europarat* and held at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1965. The artistic nature of the exhibition required its supplementation in a comprehensive treatment of "the historical significance of Charles the Great and his work" in four volumes with Wolfgang Braunfels as general editor, of which I and II are reviewed here.

The first volume consists of twenty-six studies of varied length and merit, written in English, French, German, and Italian, by scholars from Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Sweden, and Switzerland.

The opening section on "The Personages" offers Eduard Hlawitschka's study on Charlemagne's ancestors, while P. E. Schramm writes on the King's personal appearance as described by sundry sources. Joseph Fleckenstein deals with the Frankish court and its activities; K. F. Werner covers outstanding noble families. The second section contains a detailed description of the Empire. Eugen Ewig contributes a *Descriptio Franciae* of *civitates,* royal residences, and numerous settlements. Reinhard Wenskus discusses the Germanic tribes; Kurt Reindel, Bavaria; Bernard Bligny, the kingdom of Burgundy; Philippe Wolff, Aquitania and its marches; Adolf Grauert, the itinerary of Charlemagne; and Walter Kämmerer, the topography of the royal residence at Aachen. The organization of Empire and Church is the subject of Section III. F. L. Ganshof contributes two magisterial studies on "Charlemagne and the Institutions of the Frankish Monarchy" and "Charlemagne and the Administration of Justice," undoubtedly the most outstanding contributions to the volume. J. F. Verbruggen writes on the Frankish army and on Charles as strategist, and H. H. Hofmann, on the *Fossa Carolina,* an engineering project to connect the rivers Rhine and Main with the Danube. The structure of the Frankish Church is thoroughly investigated by Heinrich Büttner, while Friedrich Prinz indicates on the map of the Empire the distribution of donations and charters for churches and monasteries. Section IV deals with two aspects of Frankish economic life. Wolfgang Metz writes on the agrarian economy, and Philip Grierson, on money and coinage. Under the heading "Empire and Papacy" Peter Classen sketches in Section V the old confrontation "Charlemagne, the Papacy, and Byzantium," summarizing generally accepted historical results, of which some will be challenged and changed by future research. "The Environment of the Frankish Empire," described in Section VI, is ably introduced by Ottorino Bertolini's treatment of the duchy of Benevento. Walther Bjorkman deals with Islam; J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, with

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England; Herbert Jankuhn, with the Danes and Swedes; Manfred Hellmann, with the Slavic world between the Baltic Sea and the Bohemian forest; and Joseph Deér writes competently on the defeat and the destruction of the Avars. The concluding section—"From Imperium to the Regna"—brings Walter Schlesinger's reasoned treatment of the disintegration of the Empire, which Ganshof in a now-famous paper of 1948 rather tellingly had characterized as "une décomposition."

Volume II contains ten studies written in German and one in French. Wolfram von den Steinen evaluates in his poetically inspired style the significance of the Carolingian contribution to the culture of Western civilization and reconstructs Charlemagne's relationship to Carolingian poets. Franz Brunhölzl shows that the educational work of the "Court-School" involved the Frankish King and the numerous members of his family and household, the higher echelon of the members of the royal chancellery, and the visiting native and foreign scholars in the King's entourage. The "Court-Library" of Charlemagne is reconstructed by Bischoff, who further offers for the age a survey of the transmission of manuscripts with detailed paleographical ascriptions to specific scriptoria and Germanic tribes. The fine study by Wilhelm Heil on "Adoptionism, Alcuin, and Spain" discusses difficult theological questions associated with the heresy. Biblical manuscripts and the reform of the text of the Bible in the Age of Charlemagne are critically judged by Bonifatius Fischer. The liturgical reforms are thoroughly described by Cyrille Vogel; Josef Semler presents a summary of the ecclesiastical and monastic development of the Frankish Empire until the death of Charlemagne; and the volume closes with a note by Werner Betz on Charles's attitude toward the *lingua theodisca*, the Germanic *lingua vulgaris*.

The excellently printed and bound volumes clearly indicate a humanistic advance in European historical research. Their broad intellectual orientation becomes evident if we compare them with the French and German historical ideas discussed a few years before World War II in the collected essays: *Karl der Grosse oder Charlemagne? Acht Antworten deutscher Geschichtsforscher* (1935).

University of Illinois LUITPOLD WALLACH

DÉLIBÉRATIONS DES ASSEMBLÉES VÉNITIENNES CONCERNANT LA ROMANIE. Volume I, 1160–1363. By *F. Thiriet*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne, VI[e] Section. Documents et recherches sur l'économie des pays byzantins, islamiques et slaves et leur relations commerciales au Moyen âge, Number 8.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1966. Pp. 329. 65 fr.)

IN his *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie* (3 vols., 1958–61), Professor Thiriet registered and summarized the deliberations of the Venetian Senate concerning the lands of the eastern Mediterranean. In this present publication, the first of two anticipated volumes, he continues this useful work. He surveys and summarizes the deliberations of the other Venetian councils and assemblies—the Great Council, the *Collegio*, the Council of Forty, the Council of Ten, and assemblies occupied with the administration of Crete—

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relevant to the east. This new series follows much the same principle as its earlier, sister volumes, but it does make two noteworthy innovations. To make his register as complete as possible, Thiriet cites the "rubrics" or titles of deliberations of the Great Council for the earlier period, from 1160 to 1299. These have already been published in full by Roberto Cessi, but it remains convenient to have summaries of them here.

An appendix contains the full text of certain especially interesting deliberations, and a good index and map further enhance the utility of the volume. The deliberations themselves illuminate a breadth of topics: Venetian administration of its overseas territories and the city's commercial, diplomatic, and military relations with eastern states. Thiriet has earned the gratitude of scholars by making these rich funds of documents so much more accessible and easy to use.

University of Wisconsin DAVID HERLIHY

IL DOMINIO VENEZIANO A CRETA NEL XIII SECOLO. By *Silvano Borsari*. [Università di Napoli, Seminario di Storia Medioevale e Moderna, Number 1.] (Naples: Fausto Fiorentino Editore. 1963. Pp. 169.)

STUDI SULLE COLONIE VENEZIANE IN ROMANIA NEL XIII SECOLO. By *Silvano Borsari*. [Università di Napoli, Seminario di Storia Medioevale e Moderna, Number 3.] (Naples: [the Università.] 1966. Pp. 147.)

COMPARED to the general view provided by Professor Thiriet's *La Romanie Vénitienne* (1959), Professor Borsari's neat little volumes are more thorough, more careful examinations of a smaller part of Venetian colonial history. The volume on Crete is comparatively well balanced. Especially valuable in the otherwise somewhat wearisome if necessary narrative of conquests, revolts, suppressions, and truces is the demonstration of how a basis was laid for the gradual merging into a single class of the two kinds of landlords, Greek and Venetian. There are interesting details also concerning the serfs but not a rounded picture of what the conquest meant to the lower classes. The grain trade and the role therein of government requisitions or purchases are analyzed with discrimination. For the commercial life Borsari has reworked the published registers of Venetian notaries already analyzed from the viewpoint of the form of contracts by Mario Abrate. Both agree that many kinds of loans at interest were common, but Borsari says relatively little about the forms of contracts. He analyzes instead the size of the investments in trade through *colleganze* and compiles tables showing that a constantly diminishing proportion of the published contracts, 1271–1302, represented small investments and that large investments by Cretans increased, an indication of growth in the Cretan economy. Since the figures are based on the registers of only three notaries, each of different date, one cannot be sure whether they show changes in the economy as a whole or simply differences in the clientele of the different notaries. Certainly his compilation is evidence of significance, but it should not be taken as conclusive.

His second volume has an appropriate title, for it is far from a complete survey of the life of the Venetian colonies in Romania during the thirteenth

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century. It covers thoroughly the important Venetian conquests at the division of the Byzantine Empire and handles expertly and judiciously the ambiguous relations of the Venetians in Constantinople to the Commune in Venice at the death of Enrico Dandolo. In this connection and some others he uses valuable studies by Robert Lee Wolff, but Borsari seems unaware of Wolff's "Politics in the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople," in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* Number 8 (1954). For some reason his treatment of ecclesiastical organization is severely truncated. He documents some aspects of the commercial importance of Coron-Modon, Negroponte, and Constantinople, but does not attempt a general survey of the commerce of thirteenth-century Romania. On the other hand, he gives a good general view of the nature of Venetian emigration to Romania at the beginning of the century. In short, the *Studi* rounds out in some respects, but not all, the picture presented in *Il dominio veneziano a Creta.*

Brandeis University FREDERIC C. LANE

MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE PISTOIA: THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF AN ITALIAN TOWN, 1200–1430. By *David Herlihy.* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1967. Pp. xviii, 297. $10.00.)

THIS has been a splendid year for monographs on medieval, Italian local history. First, there was Larner's book on the Romagna, then Hyde's study of Padua, and, finally, this model inquiry into the social and economic history of Pistoia from the early thirteenth century through the first quarter of the *quattrocento.*

I shall not dwell upon the venturesome and informed treatment the author accords such topics as agrarian and urban economy or the quest for demographic patterns. Always the analysis is bold and defensible. Whether one desires to enter the list with M. Postan and G. Duby subscribing to the thesis of "overpopulation" and "inordinate expansion" as fatal causes for high mortality and economic decline at mid-*trecento,* or to underwrite Herlihy's socially conscious, ethical explanation is gratuitous. The author faces you one way and then another furnishing apt analogies and telling comparisons. The use of A. R. Burns's work on African inscriptions in Roman times illuminates the dark question of life expectancy of late medieval peoples. One feels an open-endedness in the author's discussion of social transformations during the more than two centuries of Pistoian experience. Equally humanistic is his sensitivity to the increased participation of women in the Tuscan world of the Renaissance. Also, he is well aware of Pistoia's singular position in the burgeoning empire of Florence. In 1351, when the big neighbor assumed control, Florentine chronicler Stefani wrote that terms were so favorable to Pistoia that it meant liberty for them and expense for Florence. The complex problem of Florentine imperialism remains to be examined; its connection with art, literature, and civic humanism is apparent.

What Herlihy shows, which to my mind is exceedingly valuable, appears in the last two chapters of his book. The new Florentine territorial state, of which Pistoia was a part, provided intellectual opportunity for ambitious provincials seeking to enter public life. The career of Buonaccorso da Montemagno, poet and

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writer on civic *topoi,* offers valuable evidence. So many first-rate intellectuals of late *trecento* and early *quattrocento* Florence were immigrants: Coluccio Salutati was born so close to Pistoia he could almost be considered native.

Herlihy demonstrates the vitality of the civic milieu for Pistoians, whether seeking political fortunes in Florence or remaining at home. Civic humanism had a firm base in the territories, and intellectual contributions of subject peoples flourished. The author quantifies pious bequests revealing a marked trend toward a higher order of civic awareness. In the late Middle Ages donations reflected a religiosity emphasizing penance and expiation while subsequently the ethos was one of civic charity. By early *quattrocento* it was the hospitals that were beneficiaries of an intensely civic largess. Again the new humanism, so much the work of provincials like Salutati, Bruni, and Poggio, was in touch with a changing society. But, as this study indicates, civic outlook existed alongside a hearty appetite for ceremonial and liturgical splendor. Herlihy has effectively marked the poles of a consciousness whose interior features are yet to be explored.

University of Rochester MARVIN B. BECKER

DANTE AND HIS WORLD. By *Thomas Caldecot Chubb.* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1966. Pp. xxviii, 831. $15.00.)

THIS popular biography of Dante rests on an intimate knowledge of the poet's works and of the sources of his life. If it contains no new information and little original interpretation, this is not surprising in a field stripped by the gleanings of more than six hundred years. The ascertained facts of Dante's life were set down by Michele Barbi in less than a hundred pages. Yet Mr. Chubb's work, written in a rather telegraphic and exclamatory but readable style, extends to eight hundred. This considerable space is filled by a description of "Dante's world," and by numerous surmises about his career. Often they are gratuitous, and fictional details are abundant.

Such fanciful touches are unpleasantly reminiscent of a fictionalized biography like Catherine Drinker Bowen's *Yankee from Olympus,* but they are minor blemishes. More disturbing are certain categorical affirmations, not presented as surmises but equally unsupported by proof. Remigio de' Girolami, the Dominican lector at S. Maria Novella, was "one of St. Thomas' students, and a good friend." (Here one searches for the appropriate citation, but there is no footnote in this book.) Or "There is no home of Dante." (This is a strange assertion after the researches of Barbi and Piattoli.) Or "There is no question that Dante became and remained a Ghibelline." (But does not Dante seem to speak as a Guelph in his meeting with Farinata in *Inferno,* X?)

More questionable still are certain cavalier judgments about aspects and figures of Dante's world. Of Boniface VIII it is said, "With the possible exception of Innocent II [*sic*], he was certainly the only great pope between Gregory VII . . . and the high Renaissance line which began in 1447." This is short shrift for Urban II, Gregory IX, and Innocent IV, to mention only popes prior to Boniface. Yet after this sweeping eulogy, the old stories by which Boniface's enemies tried

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to blacken his name are retold as if there was no question of their truth. Nor do Boniface's successors fare much better. Such one-sided presentations of figures in Dante's world make one wish that the author had confined himself to Dante.

Apart from some of the surmises about Dante's life, which, after all, are usually clearly labeled as such, Chubb's portrait of the poet is on the whole sensible and unpretentious. Unlike many of Dante's critics, the biographer has no new and startling revelation to propound about his subject. He has read such commentators as Cosmo and Zingarelli with care, and he has also taken the trouble to translate many of the relevant documents edited by Piattoli. His renderings of long passages from Dante himself are not always felicitous, but about what translator could not the same judgment be made? He also has a fine eye for Italian landscapes and cities. His volume is garrulous, good tempered, and often engaging. It is characterized by the same freshness, verve, diffuseness, and delight in anecdote and digression as Villani's chronicle, and also by the same lack of impartiality and analysis.

Tulane University CHARLES T. DAVIS

TORGOVLIA VELIKOGO NOVGORODA S PRIBALTIKOI I ZAPADNOI EVROPOI V XIV–XV VEKAKH [The Trade of Great Novgorod with the Baltic Area and Western Europe in the 14th and 15th Centuries]. By *A. L. Khoroshkevich.* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR. 1963. Pp. 363.)

IN the manner of a Marxist historian, yet at times like early German specialists, Khoroshkevich regards Novgorod's trade as a great stimulus to the Russian economy and the Hanse, greater than is now customarily believed. Khoroshkevich's view is not substantiated by his data, and it is apparently linked with the viable yet debatable assumption that a Russian natural economy was, partly through trade, converted into a money economy at the end of the fifteenth century. Money played a large role early in the period, and Khoroshkevich errs in always interpreting *bela* or *belka* as references to squirrel furs instead of to small sums of money, which these words commonly designated.

Somewhat inconsistently he stresses the economic backwardness of Novgorod as a supplier of raw materials, yet he regards Russian and especially central Russian trade of the time as being more developed than most authorities do. Paradoxically, after overestimates of such trade, he accuses A. M. Sakharov, in his *Goroda Severo-Vostochnoi Rusi* XIV–XV *vv.* (1959), of having underestimated internal trade, although Sakharov has clearly broken with earlier non-Marxist and Marxist-inspired underestimates. Khoroshkevich's forced view that Novgorodian exports supported political separatism is not substantiated. Although the date of publication did not permit Khoroshkevich to take the late Paul Johansen's challenging article, "Der hansische Russlandhandel, insbesondere nach Novgorod, in kritischer Betrachtung," in *Die Deutsche Hanse als Mittler zwischen Ost und West* (1963), into account, his data, excepting for those on the growing imports of cheap cloths, do not contradict Johansen's thesis.

Khoroshkevich's chief contribution lies in his careful description of Nov-

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gorodian trade, largely with the Hanse, in which the major export item was furs. They were presumably supplied mainly by dues- or *obrok*-paying peasants, a Soviet hypothesis that Khoroshkevich attributes to the paucity of sources, without venturing to suggest that *obrok* payments in kind may have been more like rents than feudal dues. Wax, the second-ranking export item, was supplied to market by peasants or merchant wax gatherers, and "probably" by nobles too, "but this hypothesis is not supported by the materials. . . ." Other exports included hides, leather footwear, and possibly leather thongs, but not, according to the records, flax and hemp, later so important. Despite the transport risks, Lombard demand, especially, promoted exports of falcons and other hunting birds.

Imports included cloths and salt. Great silver and gold imports stimulated coinage and the making of jewelry and other ornamental objects, while copper, tin, and lead imports grew with interruptions. Alum, amber, and glass became significant imports in the fifteenth century. Grains were imported in times of shortages, horses occasionally in the fifteenth century, and mead, wine, beer, and herring gained a place.

The author must be complimented, too, for his detailed indexes of personal and place names and his thorough bibliographical introduction with numerous references to relevant Russian, German, Swedish, and Polish monographic literature and to printed sources.

University of Kansas OSWALD P. BACKUS

LES FINANCES PONTIFICALES À L'ÉPOQUE DU GRAND SCHISME D'OCCIDENT, 1378–1409. By *Jean Favier*. [Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Number 211.] (Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard. 1966. Pp. 853.)

THIS work, based primarily on researches done while Favier was a member of the French School in Rome, is a study of the financial records of the two papacies during the greater portion of the Great Schism. Most of the materials used, whether for the Roman or for the Avignonese papacy, are today in the Vatican Archives, although Favier has also used supplementary records from the Archives Nationales in Paris, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and from several other minor collections.

The result of the schism created by the election of two popes in 1378 was not only a split in the spiritual allegiance of Christendom but also a split in the financial organization of the Church. Inasmuch as the papacy had been dominated by the French for some time prior to 1378, it is not surprising that most of the experienced members of the papal camera and treasury chose to follow Clement VII back to Avignon. This left Urban VI in Rome with virtually no experienced staff. And to make the situation even more difficult for the Roman Pope, the papal financial records were in Avignon; accordingly the Roman financial clerks were not accurately informed as to the customary receipts expected even from the territory then under Roman jurisdiction. Given this situation, the period of the schism is covered with considerable fullness in the rec-

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ords preserved by the Avignonese financial officers whereas relatively few financial records survive for the Roman papacy for the same period. It is not surprising, therefore, that the author of this book is able to cover not only the actual assessment and collection of revenues but also the various sources of these revenues in some detail for the Avignonese papacy, whereas revenues and their sources are covered in a much more general way for the Roman.

Favier has chosen to end his work with the Council of Pisa in 1409 rather than with the Council of Constance and the end of the schism. He defends his decision on the ground that to prolong the study to the end of the schism would make the work too long, and the creation of a third papacy by the Council of Pisa so changed the nature of the financial arrangements of the two previous papacies as to necessitate an entirely separate study.

This important exploratory work makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the financial problems facing the two papacies and of some of the economic conditions underlying the strong desire on the part of Christian Europe to heal the schism. It also helps to clarify some of the economic reasons why certain sections of Europe found it to their advantage to follow one papacy or the other and why papal financial exactions fell more heavily on some sections than on others with the resultant development of a strong resistance to certain papal policies.

Rice University K. F. Drew

ASPETTI DELLA VITA ECONOMICA E SOCIALE DI PISA DAL CATASTO DEL 1428–1429. By *Bruno Casini*. [Biblioteca del *Bollettino Storico Pisano*. Collana Storica, Number 2.] (Pisa: S.E.I.T.-Livorno. 1965. Pp. viii, 161.)

Casini's summary of the Pisan *catasto* of 1428–1429 (*AHR,* LXX [Jan. 1965], 518) served as the core for this study of Pisan economic and social life, though other sources are heavily utilized. This book contains detailed analyses of Pisan population (by residence, age, sex, and occupation) and of wealth and its distribution. There is a detailed breakdown of movable and immovable wealth into their components, with the numbers and value of each. Casini presents examples of the cost of living of some individual families and compares these with the few similar published examples of families in other cities. This and other material are clearly reassumed in numerous tables.

Casini finds that only about one-sixth of the Pisan population was officially classified as "miserable" or poverty stricken, whereas according to Enrico Fiumi about three-fourths of the population of San Gimignano fell into that category. This is instructive for more than what it tells about the distribution of wealth in two Tuscan cities. It illustrates the enormous variation possible between even nearby cities in all aspects of life, and it should warn scholars against facile overgeneralization and the temptations of assuming automatically the validity of argument from apparent analogy and of filling in gaps in the documentation for one city with data from another town.

In his general conclusion Casini contends that the *catasto* of 1428–1429 re-

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veals "a notable demographic regression; ruralization of the wealthier elements of the population, and, in part, of the artisans; strong fiscal pressure, and as a result an exodus of capital . . .; crises in almost all industrial activities . . .; relative prosperity in certain forms of commerce . . .[and] great hardship among the poorest part of the population. . . ."

This study is more analytical and descriptive than interpretive. Its strength lies especially in a wealth of detail that provides a solid basis for the author's conclusions, and gives the reader information needed to test them. Casini has written a more complete and valuable economic description than is available for most other towns.

University of California, Davis WILLIAM M. BOWSKY

Modern Europe

ANCIENS PAYS ET ASSEMBLÉES D'ÉTAT: ÉTUDES PUBLIÉES PAR LA SECTION BELGE DE LA COMMISSION INTERNATIONALE POUR L'HISTOIRE DES ASSEMBLÉES D'ÉTATS (CENTRE NATIONAL DE RECHERCHES, A.S.B.L.) AVEC LE CONCOURS DES GOUVERNEMENTS DES PROVINCES DE BRABANT, DE HAINAUT, DE LIÈGE, DE LUXEMBOURG ET DE NAMUR. Volume XL. (Brussels: Éditions de la Librairie Encyclopédique. 1966. Pp. 259, 39.)

THIS volume, issued by the Belgian branch of the International Commission for the History of Representative Assemblies, is another welcome addition to our knowledge of these institutions in late medieval and early modern Europe. Though it contains some other material of a rather different sort, such as a long and well-researched examination of the Church of Notre Dame au Lac Tirlemont, most of its articles deal with assemblies. Perhaps the most important are two contributions by Karol Gorski and those by Peter Spufford and Émile Appolis.

Gorski's first article gives us a general survey of the beginnings and growth of representative institutions in Scandinavia and Central Europe from the ninth century through the fifteenth. In it he sketches our present knowledge of such assemblies in northern Germany, Denmark, Sweden, the lands of the Teutonic Order, Poland, and Hungary and makes some interesting comparisons between them. He also appends a useful bibliography. More important is his second and longer article on the theory of representation in sixteenth-century Poland; in it he calls attention to a recent book written in Polish by Konstanty Grzybowski with which few non-Polish scholars are probably familiar. This book explains how the middle class and clergy came to be excluded from Poland's assembly in the late Middle Ages, leaving the field to the nobility. It also emphasizes that the ability of a minority of nobles in the Diet to paralyze the will of the majority developed after the sixteenth century.

Spufford's contribution concerns coinage and taxation as it developed under the control of the Estates-General of the Burgundian Netherlands, which is particularly interesting as it can be compared with England's fifteenth-century Parlia-

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ment and France's provincial Estates and Estates-General of the same period. The author emphasizes that the need for a common economic policy caused an embryo Estates-General to emerge in the 1430's. He does insist, however, that local particularism remained extremely strong throughout the fifteenth century and severely limited the authority of the Estates-General, even in matters of finance.

Finally, we have Appolis' account of how taxation was assessed on the local level in a region of seventeenth-century Languedoc. His article emphasizes the point Russell Major has made so forcibly for all of France during the Renaissance period: that a large measure of initiative was preserved by local communities and groupings in France as a whole during this period. Certainly Appolis shows this to be true of Languedoc during the seventeenth century.

University of Texas ARCHIBALD R. LEWIS

L'ÉCONOMIE ET LA MORALE AUX DÉBUTS DU CAPITALISME INDUSTRIEL EN FRANCE ET EN GRANDE-BRETAGNE. By *Léon Epsztein*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—VI[e] Section. Centre d'Études Économiques. Études et mémoires, Number 62.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1966. Pp. 355.)

IN attempting to document the rise of individual self-interest and devotion to material gain during the early nineteenth century, both in economic theory and in economic fact, and then to suggest the reaction to this in economic and moral thought, this work is not successful. No new materials and few new insights are presented.

Much of the book is an accurate but quite conventional survey of contemporary economic literature: Smith, Ricardo, Say, Sismondi, Mill, and some lesser figures. For some unexplained reason, formal socialist thought is not examined.

The final third of the book treats Christian reactions to industrialization and liberal economic thought, and it is here that M. Epsztein makes his greatest contribution. The section on France is a convenient summary, but there is nothing new. With only a bit more effort, Duroselle and Droulers can be consulted, with greater effect, on the same subject. Epsztein's treatment of Britain, though again not original, does provide the first survey in French and, even for the American reader, does offer a reminder of important topics that have not been treated recently. Epsztein's principal comparative thesis is valid, if not surprising: that there was a common reaction against utilitarianism in France and Britain, but that it was more moderate and practical, less reactionary or visionary in Britain, because British industrialization was more spontaneous and the related devotion to self-interest more widespread. If socialist thought and worker movements had been considered, this thesis might be qualified.

The first section of the book shows the spread of selfishness in the economy itself and assembles all the stereotypes, many of them badly dated now, about business enterprise and the treatment of labor in the early Industrial Revolution: A few big entrepreneurs and bankers are taken as representative of business in general; the horrors of working conditions are presented with no suggestion

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that there might be some debate over their extent. Through it all, economic self-interest advances without hesitation. Obviously, this is not an entirely accurate picture. But the picture has been painted before, at least as well, and it fails to catch the subtleties of motives and policies that actually operated in the early industrial period.

Epsztein is trying to convey concrete moral reactions to the swift economic changes of the period in the manner of Troeltsch or Tawney. He deals too much with formal systems of thought, often familiar, and too little with the moral impulses of men actually involved in industry. At best, he provides some background for the research necessary to explore his important topic.

University of Chicago PETER N. STEARNS

OSTEUROPA UND DIE ABENDLÄNDISCHE WELT: AUFSÄTZE UND VORTRÄGE. By *Werner Markert.* With an introduction by *Hans Rothfels.* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1966. Pp. 223. DM 19.80.)

ALL but one of this collection of eleven essays written between 1951 and 1963 have been published previously elsewhere. They have been assembled as a memorial to the author, a professor at Tübingen and a leading German scholar in Russian and Polish history, who died in 1965. Ranging widely over Russian and Polish history, the author shows particular interest in problems of continuity in Russian history, in social and cultural themes, and in questions dealing with Russian relations with the West.

Although most of these essays emphasize recent years and problems of current historical interest, Markert was a specialist in the period of Alexander I and the Holy Alliance. Two of the most useful essays in the book, "Metternich und Alexander I. Die Rivalität der Mächte in der europäischen Allianz" and "Preussisch-russische Verhandlungen um einen europäischen Sicherheitspakt im Zeichen der Heiligen Allianz," deal with issues in Russian relations with Austria and Prussia at this time. Another study on a limited topic concerns Russian-German relations on the eve of the First World War and the foundation in 1913 of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft zum Studium Russlands,* of which the author was a former secretary-general. Two articles discuss the Soviet period—one on Marxism and another on Stalin's political system—and most of the remaining essays cover wider themes and longer historical periods. Some were written as public addresses, others as chapters in surveys. "Polen und Europa," "Die Kultur Russlands in historischer Sicht," "Russland und die abendländische Welt," "Zur geschichtlichen Bedeutung der russischen 'Intelligencija,'" and "Der Osten zwischen Nationaldemokratie und Sowjetföderation" are short discussions particularly interesting to those dealing with general problems of East-West relations. The two studies of the period of Alexander I are basic research articles valuable for anyone writing in this period. The other essays should be read for the ideas they present and as a reflection of the attitude of a prominent German historian toward the history and culture of the neighboring Slavic states in the immediate postwar period.

Indiana University BARBARA JELAVICH

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THE UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE OF MADAME DE STAËL AND THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON. By *Victor de Pange*. Translated by *Harold Kurtz*. With a foreword by *Comtesse Jean de Pange*. (New York: Humanities Press. 1966. Pp. xxii, 90. $4.50.)

MADAME de Staël met the Duke of Wellington's brother when she was living in England in exile from Napoleon's France, and she met the Duke himself when she returned to Paris in 1814. This correspondence deals with the period directly after Waterloo, when she was gratified with the defeat of Napoleon, but she thought the allies who had defeated him were too severe on France. She objected especially to the large army of occupation and to the heavy indemnity that France had to pay. Here she clashed with the Duke of Wellington's iron determination to keep the armies of the European powers on French soil until the indemnities imposed by the treaties of 1815 had been paid and the vestiges of the Revolution uprooted from French politics and life. As the correspondence progressed, the Duke gradually modified his position and came closer to her views until, soon after her death (1817), he and Castlereagh became the chief advocates of ending the occupation before the appointed time. The Duke of Wellington seems to have been influenced also by the changes made by Louis XVIII who in 1816 dismissed the reactionary *Chambre Introuvable* and turned France more toward Liberalism and constitutionalism.

The volume contains many interesting editorial comments by one of her descendants and is a valuable commentary on a chapter of French history.

Oberlin College FREDERICK B. ARTZ

LE RELAZIONI DIPLOMATICHE FRA LA FRANCIA E IL REGNO DELLE DUE SICILIE. Second Series, 1830–1848. Volume I (25 AGOSTO 1830–24 DICEMBRE 1835). Edited by *Armando Saitta*. [Documenti per la Storia delle Relazioni Diplomatiche fra le Grandi Potenze Europee e gli Stati Italiani 1814–1860. Part 2, Documenti Esteri. Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1966. Pp. xiii, 472. L. 4,000.)

OTHER historians have previously studied the French diplomatic documents that are included in this well-edited volume; there are, therefore, few startling revelations.

Deeply suspicious of Austria's efforts to dominate the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Louis Philippe's government sought to persuade the new King, Ferdinand II, to dampen the revolutionary fervor of his people by a program of reforms and modernization. The French wisely concluded that Ferdinand's best hope for independence and neutrality rested on the inner stability and prosperity of his sadly misgoverned kingdom. Ferdinand at first aroused great expectations in Paris, but these hopes rapidly faded as he came increasingly under clerical influences and listened to reactionary advice from his wife and others. The French concluded that Austria was also a barrier to any basic change in institutions in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The reports of French diplomats

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in Naples make sad and discouraging reading. These men were unable to promote reform through moral persuasion. They watched with alarm and frustration as Ferdinand sat on a proverbial powder keg. Pro-French and anti-Austrian himself, the King refused even to take the basic step of ridding himself of his reactionary and anti-French ministers, and he placed far too great a military burden on his impoverished kingdom.

The documents are especially revealing on conditions in Sicily and on the deep antagonisms between the Sicilians and the Neapolitans. This volume, in fact, probably has greater value for its enlightening examination of internal conditions in the south of Italy than for its revelations on foreign affairs.

A substantial number of documents deal with a visit of the Duchess of Berry to Italy, with the impact of the Spanish question on the court at Naples, and with attempts to conclude marriages between members of the royal families at Paris and Naples.

The historian can only welcome volumes of this nature, however limited they may be in absolutely new materials. They are probably worth all of the care, effort, and expense necessary to produce them.

Colgate University WILLIAM C. ASKEW

BRITAIN AND SWITZERLAND, 1845–60: A STUDY OF ANGLO-SWISS RELATIONS DURING SOME CRITICAL YEARS FOR SWISS NEUTRALITY. By *Ann G. Imlah*. (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1966. Pp. xv, 208. $9.00.)

IN the twentieth century, especially during the two great wars, the peculiar position of Switzerland vis-à-vis the remainder of Europe has been accepted almost as a normal or routine matter. Few historians, however, even among the European specialists, know much about the background and development of Swiss neutrality, which was the condition essential to its unique position. Dr. Imlah has performed a valuable task by writing a carefully documented study of the decade and a half during which Swiss neutrality and independence (terms applied interchangeably to the Swiss situation during the nineteenth century) were firmly established.

Imlah begins her book with the formation of the Sonderbund, an association of conservative, Catholic cantons which, according to liberal and Protestant opinion, violated the provisions of the Swiss Constitution of 1815 (the Federal Pact). What was important for her thesis was that in 1845–1846 there was a very real possibility that France, Austria, or Prussia might individually or collectively intervene in the civil conflict; hence at that time Swiss independence was still a tenuous concept. When the book ends with the Italian crisis of 1859–1861, Swiss independence and neutrality were "accepted as an element of European public law." Between 1845 and 1860, then, an important change in the European attitude took place, and this shift is what concerns Imlah.

British policy toward Switzerland was based on the conviction that Swiss independence and neutrality were the only practical answer for a nation so situated; to deviate from this answer was to invite European war, which Britain

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passionately wished to avoid. Furthermore Britain had an ideological sympathy for liberal Switzerland whose government was anathema to France, Austria, and Prussia at least until the final settlement of the Neuchâtel question in 1857. Lastly Britain had important economic ties with independent Switzerland that it did not want altered. These factors resulted in diplomatic support that was not consistent, unconditional, nor separate from self-interest. Imlah concludes, nevertheless, that it was the one constant factor on which the Swiss could and did depend. Thus, British diplomacy was instrumental in establishing a neutral nation in the center of Europe.

The author has done extensive research in the appropriate archives in Britain, Switzerland, and France. Her judgments are so delicately balanced and her conclusions are so carefully drawn that the impact of the book is less than it might have been if she had followed the more usual practice of socking the reader with her historical revisions. She effectively demolishes the persistent myth that Palmerston engineered the defeat of the Sonderbund, for example, but she does it in such a gentle manner that it is hardly noticed. In a way the restraint is refreshing.

Southern Methodist University H. Russell Williams

DIE BEURTEILUNG DER AUSSEN- UND INNENPOLITIK BISMARCKS VON 1862–1866 IN DEN GROSSEN PARISER ZEITUNGEN. By *Klaus Malettke.* [Historische Studien, Number 399.] (Lübeck: Matthiesen Verlag. 1966. Pp. 243. DM 27.50.)

This study, based on some sixteen thousand issues of various Parisian newspapers and periodicals, shows that on the whole the Paris press was not unfavorably disposed toward Bismarck when he was appointed Prussian Minister-President in 1862. Soon, however, a growing number of papers began objecting to his illiberal and pro-Russian policies. After the Danish War of 1864 Bismarck's national policies also came under attack, although some of the leading liberal papers were prepared to accept a Prussian-led unification of Germany as long as it did not extend beyond the Main River. The book ends with the outbreak of the Prusso-Austrian War of 1866.

These are not very startling discoveries, considering the masses of material through which Malettke has made his way. I found the author's distinct anti-French bias and his failure to analyze adequately the significance of various press reactions equally disappointing. On the asset side, there are some revealing insights into the efforts of the French and Prussian governments to influence editorial policies. Unfortunately, what interest these latter discussions create is blunted in turn by the pedestrian manner in which the author presents his material.

Ohio State University Andreas Dorpalen

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FRANKREICH ZWISCHEN REPUBLIK UND MONARCHIE IN DER BISMARCKZEIT: BISMARCKS ANTILEGITIMISMUS IN FRANZÖSISCHER SICHT (1870–1877). By *Bert Böhmer.* [Münchener historische Studien, Abteilung neuere Geschichte, Number 6.] (Kallmünz: Verlag Michael Lassleben. 1966. Pp. xi, 197.)

THIS book's title is misleading, and the subtitle refers to only a part of the content. Nearly half of the book offers well-known material about the political ideas and practices of Bismarck and of Thiers and about Franco-German relations. After an introductory statement on divided France and the "revolutionary" policy of Bismarck, the author follows the same organizational plan for every chapter. In Chapter 1 he discusses Bismarck's use of reason of state and of the principle of legitimacy and his attitude toward the Third Republic. He then analyzes articles about these German policies and practices from seven French newspapers expressing different political affiliations, in order to learn the effect of German experience upon French thinking about France. Following this, he concentrates upon the relation of William I and Bismarck, master and servant, and the opinions of the seven journals about the relationship of ruler and minister in the specific case and with respect to France. The next chapter concerns Bismarck and Caesarism and gives French press discussion of this problem in France. The last three chapters largely offer political history of international relations between Germany and France and of the French constitutional crises from 1870 through 1877. In each of these last chapters the author aims to explain how and in what respects the example of Germany and the experience there affected the French writers' judgments about fundamental issues of political and constitutional development in their own country. He uses history to clarify political and constitutional theory and then reverses the process. In choosing the relations of France and Germany during the critical 1870's as his subject, he shows how valuable comparative study can be in understanding the history of a so-called sovereign state.

Unfortunately, Dr. Böhmer rambles widely over space and time, and the difference between the brief and vague statement of purpose in the preface and the complexity of the four-page summary-conclusion reveals a fundamental error in the choice of method and organization for the study.

University of California, Los Angeles EUGENE N. ANDERSON

BRITISH BROADCASTING AND THE DANISH RESISTANCE MOVEMENT, 1940–1945: A STUDY OF THE WARTIME BROADCASTS OF THE B.B.C. DANISH SERVICE. By *Jeremy Bennett.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1966. Pp. xvi, 266. $10.00.)

ALAN Bullock's foreword correctly terms this book a "pioneer study." It raises questions concerning British foreign policy, German occupation policy and methods, and especially British handling of complex problems involving many government offices.

The BBC has received tribute, mostly general, for its wartime work. Mr.

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Bennett in this instance has documented much of the story of the Danish broadcasts, the first of which was presented the day of the occupation. An adequate organization, stability, and competence were soon acquired. A few Danish journalists and Britishers who happened to be available comprised the key personnel; other useful Danes appeared gradually. Denmark, the only occupied country with its own constitutional government at home, presented peculiar problems. Although that government stopped functioning in August 1943, Denmark never became an Ally, and it never became a scene of military operations. But the latter possibility had to be considered until the war ended.

The Foreign Office, for obvious reasons, was the final authority on the Danish broadcasts. Long-term considerations were uppermost, and Denmark occupied only a small role in over-all British policy. The Ministry of Economic Warfare was responsible for the Special Operations Executive, whose plans could not be revealed to the BBC or to the Danes. The BBC was independent, greatly concerned for its integrity, but guided by the Foreign Office. The BBC Danish broadcasts became the chief source of Danish news in Denmark. Naturally there were delays and mistakes, and Danes, forgetting that the mission of the BBC was to further British objectives, complained that too little attention was given to Danish news. Bennett's treatment of details is careful and fair, and it shows that BBC performance was remarkably successful.

The papers of many Danes involved in British-Danish relations and in the resistance movement are in the Royal Danish Archives, where Bennett has consulted them. He has interviewed available participants and, of course, has used and cites published material. It appears that most useful BBC administrative papers have been at his disposal, and his treatment and conclusions appear essentially correct. But, when Service Department and Foreign Office records are opened, some careful student should check them. Meanwhile, there is room for similar studies concerning other countries.

George Washington University, Montgomery, Alabama WALTER G. INMAN

NORTHERN CATHOLICS: THE CATHOLIC RECUSANTS OF THE NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE, 1558–1790. By *Hugh Aveling, O.S.B.* [Studies in Theology and Church History.] (New York: Hillary House Publishers. 1966. Pp. 477. $12.50.)

THIS is the third in a series of detailed studies on the history of the Catholic recusant communities in the three Ridings of Yorkshire and the city of York from 1558 to 1790. It is devoted to the history of the Catholics in the North Riding, a small community of never more than 2,700 persons and often less than 2 per cent of the Riding's population. Apart from the fact of survival in a hostile environment, the contributions of this community to the religious history of the Riding were relatively unimportant. When compared with the influence and successes of the Protestant dissenting movements in the Riding during the same period—Quakers and Presbyterians in the seventeenth century and Methodists in the eighteenth—the Catholics were neither influential nor successful. Generally, North Riding Catholics were rustic and agrarian; they were never

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really at ease in town life and for the most part were dependents of surviving Catholic nobility and country squires. The principal characteristic of the community's religious life was its virtual isolation from contacts with European Catholicism. Strangers of all kinds were infrequent in the North Riding, and Catholic strangers apart from an occasional French chef or Italian stuccoer were rare indeed. Masses were offered only once every three or four weeks in the populated parts of the Riding and only three or four times a year in the outlying farm areas. With formal religious instruction in short supply, the catechism, the Jesus Psalter, and the rosary were the day-to-day staples of the community's religious life.

However isolated North Riding Catholics were from contacts with European Catholicism, they were not isolated from the social and political history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They had to live with recusancy laws that complicated virtually every aspect of religious, social, and political life, and, from the beginning of the Bishops' War in 1638 until the surrender of the last Royalist garrison in the Riding—Bolton Castle—in 1645, North Riding Catholics knew the economic and military realities of civil war. The author's contention that no North Riding Catholic took up arms for Parliament during the Civil War is not surprising.

Altogether this book is well researched, well written, and absolutely authoritative for its subject. It is local history, but very good local history. It is a book that serious students of recusant history must read.

University of Notre Dame ROBERT E. BURNS

THE ASPIRING MIND OF THE ELIZABETHAN YOUNGER GENERATION. By *Anthony Esler.* [Duke Historical Publications.] (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1966. Pp. xxiv, 266. $8.50.)

THE somewhat cumbrous title of this book does not make entirely clear the nature of its contents. In Tudor usage the phrase "aspiring mind" meant worldly ambition. The author means by "younger Elizabethan generation" a group of eminent Englishmen, courtiers, and writers, born in the 1550's and 1560's, including Shakespeare, Bacon, Raleigh, Robert Cecil, Essex, Marlowe, and others hardly less eminent. Mr. Esler contrasts their goals and ideals with those of their fathers during the generation of Elizabeth I and Lord Burleigh. Most especially he emphasizes their sharply differing attitudes toward ambition. The elders were men who, as heirs of Renaissance humanism, looked up to the ideals of personal honor, civic service, and Christian self-abnegation and for whom mere personal ambition was an unworthy pursuit. Under the political and ideological stresses of the mid-century, they compromised themselves so deeply as to destroy the vitality of these older ideals. Although they educated their sons in this same tradition, the latter early turned away in disillusionment and cynicism from their parents' values and unashamedly sought naked and unlimited power in its various forms. This led in some cases to self-destruction; in others to bitter frustration and a dark cynicism.

Esler's argument is sustained by a wealth of citation and a broad acquaintance

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with the bibliography of Elizabethan studies, literary and historical. The case is argued with grace and intelligence. But the author's task is difficult since he sets out to interpret the collective mind of a whole generation—and that generation one so dazzlingly brilliant. He is convincing in pointing out many of the dominant features of English politics and letters at the end of Elizabeth's reign. But in attempting a synthesis that will subsume at once the ambitions and careers of Marlowe, Raleigh, Essex, Cecil, and other contemporaries to whom less attention is paid, he is not as persuasive. His broad sketch of early Elizabethan ideals and of the complex reaction against them at the end of the reign is interesting and suggestive but too loosely woven and too general to convince. Even if the brief summary of the complex thought of the nineties, which relies too heavily on Marlowe as the representative of the decade, were acceptable, it would still be necessary to prove that the careers of Essex, Cecil, Raleigh, or Bacon were integrally related to the ideas current in those years. And none of the particular biographical instances have sufficient concreteness to sustain the general argument. The book falls somewhere between a suggestive essay and the much more massive investigation required fully to sustain the basic thesis.

Haverford College WALLACE T. MACCAFFREY

CALENDAR OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD SACKVILLE OF KNOLE, SEVENOAKS, KENT. Volume II, LETTERS RELATING TO LIONEL CRANFIELD'S BUSINESS OVERSEAS, 1597–1612. Edited by *F. J. Fisher*. [Historical Manuscripts Commission, Number 80.] (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Service, New York. 1966. Pp. vii, 267. $11.50 postpaid.)

CRANFIELD: POLITICS AND PROFITS UNDER THE EARLY STUARTS. THE CAREER OF LIONEL CRANFIELD, EARL OF MIDDLESEX. By *Menna Prestwich*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. xx, 623.)

LIONEL Cranfield has been getting his due of late. The London apprentice who prospered at overseas trade, moneylending, and tax farming and rose to be Earl of Middlesex and Lord High Treasurer to James I has a special fascination for our modern interest in social mobility. This model apprentice and assiduous administrator saved every scrap of paper and at Knole, in his descendants' hands, they remain a *fond* for that age exceeded in bulk only by that at Hatfield and unique on the mercantile side. A new volume of extracts from Cranfield's papers has just been published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission: it provides an extremely vivid picture of the daily operations of a London merchant exporting cloth to the Low Countries, Germany, and the Baltic, importing such items as Italian silks from Germany and wheat from the Baltic, and being constantly active in the exchange market. There is a remarkably early example of discounting a bill of exchange at Hamburg in 1597, along with other valuable discoveries for the alert. The volume should be particularly helpful for teachers of economic and business history, who are looking for earlier documentation.

In 1958 R. H. Tawney published an interesting if relatively brief study of

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Cranfield, emphasizing his commercial career and his role as a reforming administrator. Mrs. Prestwich has now given us a much fuller and more heavily documented study of Cranfield, the man and the minister. She is quite brief and adds little to Tawney on the early mercantile years, but she does give a full treatment of Middlesex in retirement, 1624–1645, and of his financial condition, that is entirely new. For most purposes, hers will be the definitive study.

The major emphasis of Prestwich's book is upon Cranfield's "public" career as tax farmer, administrator, and Lord Treasurer. If, in setting the stage, she sometimes loses her protagonist in a general account of court finance, she always gets back to him. The Cranfield she brings alive is totally believable if unsympathetic: hard, calculating, greedy, proud as only a former apprentice could be, yet by the standards of the time a good subject and good servant of the crown. Where Tawney suggested a forward-looking administrative reformer, Prestwich depicts a routine functionary, very much of his time. He changed nothing structurally and lined his own pockets like the rest (if more discreetly), but thought he could squeeze out more for his king by squeezing others on crown purchases and revenue collections. In this squeezing he went beyond the usual administrative channels and made enemies in every department he touched. (Prestwich is very good in suggesting this dimension of his "reforms.") More seriously, this creature of Buckingham had the *hubris* to forget his maker and to attempt to act like a statesman. In that he was undone: the courtiers and the bureaucrats triumphed in the end.

Some will detect a certain imbalance in Prestwich's book, too much detail on some points, not enough on others. Nevertheless, it is a model of research and of scholarly perception and imagination. Prestwich has vividly re-created the dense jungle where the Jacobean court and public finance met and has populated it with real if unattractive animals.

University of Michigan JACOB M. PRICE

ELIAS ASHMOLE (1617–1692): HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES, HIS CORRESPONDENCE, AND OTHER CONTEMPORARY SOURCES RELATING TO HIS LIFE AND WORK. Volume I, BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION; Volume II, TEXTS, 1617–1660; Volume III, TEXTS, 1661–1672; Volume IV, TEXTS, 1673–1701. Edited, with a biographical introduction, by *C. H. Josten*. Volume V, INDEX. By *M. A. Hennings*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. xx, 306; 309–808; 809–1289; 1291–1898; 1899–2065. $60.50 the set.)

THAT in the "age of genius" science and magic were closely allied has no better testimony than this monument sacred to the memory of one of its most ambivalent personalities. Elias Ashmole, "vertuoso and encyclopaedian," was a fit companion to Charles Lamb's "fantastic great old man," Robert Burton, and John Aubrey's "magazen of arts," Kenelm Digby. Indeed he was a fit companion to "roving and magotie-headed" Aubrey himself. The present work not only supplies proof of this affinity: it also reminds us that some books should be set aside against the day when, the anarchs of pride and stupidity having triumphed,

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a saving remnant seeks to preserve the vestiges of the past. Such a book is this *theatrum* of astrological, alchemical, antiquarian curiosities, whose author and editor has lived so long amongst the specimens as to become Ashmole redivivus. As for reading it, one can only paraphrase Sydney Smith's reaction on hearing that a young man was about to marry a widow twice his size. Read it, impossible. You might write a doctoral dissertation out of it, you might build a curriculum on it, but read it you cannot; it is the Ashmolean itself.

Dip into it you can, and you will never fail to find treasure. Do you like dreams? Here are dozens—mysterious, erotic, commonplace—which when submitted to Jung secured a response likely to suggest that twentieth-century psychiatry has much in common with seventeenth-century astrology. Do you like prophecies? Here are hundreds. Who will marry whom, and will "favours" be forthcoming before the bed is nuptial? Or, in different vein, *post hoc:* "At the first sitting of the Long Parliament the Sun was Eclipsed in 21 degr: of M [Scorpio] and their actions were sutable to the falce viperous & treacherous nature of that signe, swift & violent as lightning." It comes then as no surprise to find Ashmole hailing the Restoration as the bright "Day" that has "op'd the closed eye-lidds of the Sun." To smile is easy, but the smile should be kindly. Although he served his king as Comptroller of the Excise and Commissioner of Sewers, his fame has a firmer foundation. He was a great erudite, "skilled in ancient coins, chemistry, heraldry, mathematics, what not." The fields he tilled yielded crops more fruitful than magic and superstition; because he believed that knowledge of nature is necessary to life, health, and the conveniences thereof, to medicine, manufacture, and trade, he founded the first public museum in England. "He had the Sun in his Horoscope," said his fellow astrologer, Gadbury; "his Bequeathments will give him a Fame little less than Immortal." The proof is imbedded in these volumes.

University of Missouri CHARLES F. MULLETT

THE AGITATION FOR LAW REFORM DURING THE PURITAN REVOLUTION, 1640–1660. By *Stuart E. Prall.* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1966. Pp. 159. 20.75 gls.)

THROUGH extensive use of the Thomason Tracts in the British Museum, Professor Prall has shown the importance of the agitation for law reform in England between 1640 and 1660, particularly from 1646 to 1654. In their desire for a utopia in England, radical pamphleteers demanded a thorough revision or abolition of long-established legal customs, procedures, and courts. Chancery was particularly anathema to them. Both before and after the death of the King writers pointed out that antiquated laws favoring the privileged landed classes were a main cause of England's troubles. John Warr, John Jones, and Hugh Peters, elaborating on this theme, played an important part in the ferment of ideas in these revolutionary years. Other pamphleteers more moderate in their views also proclaimed the need for considerable reform of the law.

These writings of both radicals and moderates led to a reaction against any change and thereby strengthened the desire of many moderates and conservatives

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to maintain the old, established laws. Prall reminds us that those lawyers wishing to preserve the common laws intact were a most important group urging Cromwell to accept the crown. More and more Cromwell seemed to favor the conservatives; basic law reforms were never achieved; and finally the Restoration ensured the triumph of the traditional common laws. Although other scholars, notably Goldwyn Smith, have written upon law reform in this period, Prall has wisely chosen to treat this important subject more fully, over a longer period.

Although he is aware of the latest interpretation of the constitutional and political, social and economic history of this revolutionary period, he has not succeeded too well in weaving the story of the agitation for law reform into the general history of these years. In his chapter on fundamental law, the material is greatly oversimplified, and, at times, I believe, incorrect. It was not, for example, with the militia bill, as Prall states, but more than a year earlier that Parliament had relied on fundamental law in many of its arguments against the King's ministers. Again, Prall's chapter on the Commonwealth, in which he relies heavily on Gardiner, is very confusing in its organization. Unless he had chosen to write a much longer book, it would have been wiser, in my opinion, for him not to have attempted to incorporate so much of the history of the period but rather to have concentrated more fully upon his main theme.

It is a good theme that must be included in any full history of this period. After the preoccupation of scholars in recent years with the theories of the rising and falling gentry, it is refreshing to find a historian returning to the sources at hand and making good use of the invaluable contemporary pamphlets.

Rutgers University MARGARET A. JUDSON

THE BENEVOLENT MAN: A LIFE OF RALPH ALLEN OF BATH. By *Benjamin Boyce*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 304. $7.95.)

PROFESSOR Benjamin Boyce, author of *Tom Brown of Facetious Memory* and other books, has now written the first full-length biography of Ralph Allen of Bath (1693–1764), a "self-made man": as businessman Allen made his fortune dealing in stone from the quarries around Bath; as deputy postmaster he added to that fortune while conscientiously improving the local mail service; as local politician he became mayor of the town; and as local benefactor and host at his "Prior Park" estate to Fielding, Pope, and a great number of other writers, he became the model for Squire Allworthy in *Tom Jones*. In tracing Allen's rise from poverty and obscurity to affluence and a reputation for benevolence extraordinary in his own day, Boyce has exhaustively covered manuscript and printed sources, showing impressive competence in the literature of such varied fields as architecture, the English novel, postal administration, and eighteenth-century politics.

Any biographer of a man with varied activities faces a dilemma: should he separate his subject's activities topically or should he try to weave them all together in the chronological narrative of day-to-day activities? Boyce has chosen

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the latter. He chronicles Allen's activities month by month, indeed, day by day where he can. The result, however, is that it is hard to follow the main themes of Allen's life; moreover, a paragraph discussing important changes in the ministry or business establishments may be followed by one giving an inventory of Allen's tableware; thus the reader must separate for himself the significant from the trivial.

A second problem any biographer faces is how best to fill in the background for his subject's life. Boyce chooses to create atmosphere by piling detail on detail, rather than by analyzing in general terms the major trends of the period when Allen lived. As a piece of research into the life and activities of a minor Hanoverian figure, this study will be unsurpassed, but the job of fitting Allen into the Hanoverian world remains to be done.

American University ALISON G. OLSON

A HISTORY OF SOUTHAMPTON, 1700–1914. Volume I, AN OLIGARCHY IN DECLINE, 1700–1835. By *A. Temple Patterson.* [Southampton Records Series, Volume XI.] (Southampton: University Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 199. £2 10*s*.)

IN the eighteenth century the seaport town of Southampton went through a period of decay. In earlier days it had prospered from the Mediterranean trade; and the advent of the steamship and the opening of the railroad to London were to raise it again to prominence. The intervening decay was real enough: Southampton declined sharply in population; the walls were dilapidated; houses were abandoned. Yet the period—hitherto neglected—has genuine interest for the historian. "There can be few places," writes Mr. Temple Patterson, "where the long-drawn-out contest between old and new, the dogged rearguard action of an increasingly outdated municipal and economic system against the forces of change, can be better illustrated."

This is the theme of Patterson's excellent study. He gives a descriptive account of Southampton and Southampton life throughout the eighteenth century. He discusses the uninspiring parliamentary history of the borough and the ways in which events in the greater world, such as the French wars, impinged on Southampton. But his chief interest, and the unifying thread of his book, is the decline of the town Corporation to its extinction after the Municipal Reform Act of 1835.

The Corporation was an oligarchy composed mainly of current and former officeholders; it was not subject to popular election and filled vacancies by the comfortable process of co-optation. It behaved, in the eighteenth century, less like a municipal government than like the administrator of a complicated private inheritance, collecting customs charges, rents, and fees, enforcing (with ever-decreasing success) old regulations concerning retail trade and apprenticeship, and spending the surplus largely for its own benefit, on banquets, allowances, pensions, and the like.

Meanwhile the real life of Southampton was passing it by. The initiative in such matters as paving and lighting the streets and establishing a watch went

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by default to *ad hoc* commissions of citizens, established with parliamentary sanction. The Corporation left no great gap in Southampton when it "decorously expired" in 1835.

As for Patterson's treatment of his subject, I can only say that his book is a model of its kind: carefully documented from a wide variety of local sources, well organized, and well written.

Boston College THOMAS W. PERRY

LA SOCIÉTÉ ANGLAISE DE 1760 À 1810: INTRODUCTION À UNE ÉTUDE DE LA CIVILISATION ANGLAISE AU TEMPS DE GEORGE III. By *André Parreaux*. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de Paris—Sorbonne. Series "Études et Méthodes," Number 15.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1966. Pp. xii, 118. 10 fr.)

ONE expects a sophisticated work from a professor of the Sorbonne publishing in this series. When one notices that the volume is dedicated to the memory of Albert Mathiez and Lucien Febvre, and when one scans the table of contents and notes the title of the final section to be "Caractères origineaux de la société anglaise au temps de George III," echoing the title of Marc Bloch's renowned study of French agriculture, the expectation has fully grown that this is to be a first step toward what has long been needed in this period: an analysis of late eighteenth-century English society by a scholar trained in the French sociological-historical tradition. For these reasons I, at least, find it difficult to recover from the disappointment I felt when I turned to the text.

It is not the coverage or, in the most general sense, the approach of the book that disturbs me. Parreaux devotes most of the volume to an analysis of class structure and to the role of religion in English society. It is rather with the level and sophistication of his analysis, and, more seriously, with the inaccuracy and insensitivity of many of his conclusions that I must quarrel. The most serious deficiency stems from his decision to delineate class structures simply in terms of social acceptability. But even on this crude conceptual level Parreaux has not demonstrated the required sensitivity to English evidence. He illustrates the mobility of the more prosperous bankers, for example, by citing the social acceptability of John Coutts, who, he erroneously suggests, had married one of his "domestiques." Parreaux apparently misinterpreted Coleridge's *Coutts,* where the well-born Jean Coutts is described as an "excellent domestic manager and of lady-like manners." In addition, Parreaux has brought odd prejudgments to his subject, devoting nine pages in his chapter on religion to Freemasonry but only two pages to Methodism and to the evangelical revival. I cannot judge what audience this book would find in France, but I cannot recommend it to those who read English.

Duke University DONALD E. GINTER

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LAMENNAIS AND ENGLAND: THE RECEPTION OF LAMENNAIS'S RELIGIOUS IDEAS IN ENGLAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *W. G. Roe.* [Oxford Modern Languages and Literature Monographs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 241. $6.10.)

THE sometime Abbé Félicité de Lamennais was the Karl Marx of nineteenth-century religious controversy, though the potential for interpretations or misinterpretations of his thought was more intrinsic to it than was the case with Marx. Lamennais moved from ultramontanism to mystical socialism, and his defenders, or manipulators, ranged from curial apologists (in 1870, when his early ultramontanism was needed) through Mazzini to Wilhelm Weitling. Mr. Roe's thorough analysis of English periodicals and the published and manuscript literature of religious controversy establishes the interest of the general English public in Lamennais as one "aroused more by his character than by his ideas." After narrating in detail the history of Lamennais's correspondence and contacts with a limited number of Englishmen in the middle of the century, the author focuses on the "reception" of his ideas by the Oxford movement, by the Roman Catholics of the period of emancipation and of the liberal movement of the 1860's, and by the Communist and Christian Socialists. A concluding chapter establishes his broader significance to twentieth-century writers as the epitome not only of the nineteenth-century struggle between skepticism and faith, but of the "revolutionary" discovery "that the struggle would not be concluded merely by the complete victory of one side over the other." The reader's ability to assess the various "receptions" traced is vastly aided by an introductory presentation of the major stages of Lamennais's political and intellectual development.

Roe's study shows, not entirely intentionally, that the connections between Lamennais and even his most bona fide English enthusiasts were on balance more of use than influence. The connection with the Oxford movement, even allowing for clear influence in the case of Froude, and, through Froude, on Newman for a short time, is one of parallelism. Acton, who in his notes insisted on the unoriginality of Lamennais's notion of *sensus communis,* was wary of his influence, seeing the danger that Roe well describes in another context. For Lamennais tried "to weave humanitarian ideals into the pattern of Christian doctrine while denying the dogmatic assumptions from which the ideals themselves sprang." Roe correctly concludes that Lamennais's ideas best matched those of Modernism, "for it was in modernism that outward forms and personal piety were combined with scepticism in matters of belief."

Precisely because the book recognizes the pitfalls of this kind of intellectual history, it offers insights beyond its own range and is in this sense a valuable addition to a field recently enriched by such works as those of Altholz and MacDougall.

Amherst College JOHN RATTÉ

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DISRAELI. By *Robert Blake*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1967. Pp. xxiv, 819. $12.50.)

Robert Blake has written the best biography of Disraeli since Monypenny and Buckle set themselves the same task more than half a century ago. It is a measure of the excellence of this work that it leads us back to the earlier and more massive official biography. The differences between the two are striking. Convention and a form of post-Victorian reticence led Disraeli's earlier biographers to omit detail available to them, which they ignored or suppressed through judicious and selective editing. Their solicitude for the reputation of their hero led Monypenny and Buckle to look away from the kind of human failing that Blake finds entirely comprehensible without in any way condoning. How, for example, the official biographers failed to understand the offense Disraeli gave John Murray in so cruelly caricaturing the publisher in *Vivian Grey* may be explained only by a too great attachment to the subject of their study. Blake is unwilling to permit himself a comparable personal involvement.

His greatest contribution, however, is not that he provides us with new data about Disraeli's life, or that his judgment is so much more independent than that of so many who have written before him—though one is properly grateful for these things as well—but that his approach is that of the professional historian writing for his peers and those others who will consent to read through a long and sometimes difficult text. The quality of Blake's insights marks him as an accomplished scholar, with a total command of his field, who is seeking through the medium of biography to impose some sort of order on political events that may otherwise appear entirely random and haphazard. When Blake writes that Disraeli believed in a territorial aristocracy in part because he was a romantic, but also because he had "a genuine hatred of centralization, bureaucracy, and every manifestation of the Benthamite state," he is interpreting in an idiom that most biographers of Disraeli would not have thought to use. The judgment that old age and illness were only part of the explanation for Disraeli's "inactivity" in his last government and that Disraeli "never possessed the drive, energy or application which were the qualities of Pitt, Peel, Palmerston, or Gladstone" suggests congenial and meaningful comparisons to contemporary historians precisely because they reveal the biographer as something more than the recorder of accident and eccentricity.

Blake rejects the idea that Disraeli ought to be credited with "authorship" of the social reform legislation of his later years or that this legislation may be characterized as collectivist in inspiration. In arguing in this way, Blake takes issue with other biographers of Disraeli and with a host of historians, political scientists, and legal scholars who, despite criticism, follow A. V. Dicey in perpetuating his classic portrayal of nineteenth-century Victorian legislation. This is a distinguished biography: it tells admirably the story of a major Victorian life, and it constitutes an important contribution to continuing discussion among historians of the nature of Victorian politics and society.

Brown University Stephen R. Graubard

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RAPIERS AND BATTLEAXES: THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT AND ITS AFTERMATH. By *Josephine Kamm*. Foreword by *Mary Stocks (Baroness Stocks)*. (New York: Humanities Press. 1966. Pp. 240. $6.75.)

THE story of the woman's rights movement in Great Britain, first told by Ray Strachey in *The Cause* (1928), an excellent account that has long been out of print, now has been retold, amplified in some respects, and brought up to date by Josephine Kamm in a much better book than its ridiculous, publisher-inspired title might suggest. It is well documented, and although it makes lively reading, it sacrifices nothing to scholarship.

The struggle for equal rights in Great Britain roughly paralleled ours as to dates: the first stirrings began in the 1840's, it picked up momentum as the Victorian era drew to a close, and came to a head just before the outbreak of World War I. Women began attending the universities in the 1870's. Jobs opened up, more slowly in some professional fields than in others. The trade-unions were not receptive to women. Woman suffrage dragged its slow course from the organization of the first committees and the first petition to Parliament in 1866 to the enfranchisement of women by stages in 1918 and 1928.

Kamm has been more detailed in some respects than Strachey; the two accounts therefore admirably supplement one another. She devotes more space to presenting rounded portraits of the Pankhursts—mother and two daughters—who left their militant imprint on the suffrage movement of two continents since Alice Paul, leader of the American Congressional Union, received her baptism in militancy while working with the British militants in 1908–1909.

British suffragists faced a different tactical problem from American suffragists since they could not slowly build up a body of voting women through state referendums. Their sole channel of deliverance was Parliament. It was because suffrage adherents could not even get the issue of the franchise for women to a parliamentary vote in any form, however limited, until the conciliation bill in 1910 and because both Liberal and Conservative leadership was vacillating and uncooperative when not downright hostile that British militants became so much more violent than they ever did in the United States.

Kamm's portraits of the women leaders are three dimensional and vivid, down to the belligerence of the fiery Sophia Jex-Blake in her long struggle to become a doctor and the calculated excesses of the Pankhursts. She does not disguise her belief that the real engineer of the eventual suffrage victory was Millicent Garrett Fawcett, counterpart of the American leader Carrie Chapman Catt, and in this estimate I think history will support her.

We hear nothing, unfortunately, about the economic and social changes, of which the emancipation of women was only one part. What is still lacking is a study of the British woman's movement in relation to other social and political movements of the era.

Northampton, Massachusetts ELEANOR FLEXNER

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THE MAKING OF THE SECOND REFORM BILL. By *F. B. Smith*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1966. Pp. 297. $10.50.)

In this splendid monograph the author has succeeded admirably in the task that he set himself: to provide a "minute and lucid" analysis of the process that shaped the Reform Act of 1867. He begins with two short chapters on the labor aristocracy and the system of representation and then unravels the intricacies of the various bills and resolutions introduced between 1851 and 1865. Much of the book is devoted to a full-scale narrative history of the Reform Bills of 1866 and 1867. In constructing a clear and detailed account of that extremely complicated series of events, Smith has written just the sort of study that was needed to do justice to the most fascinating and confusing of the Victorian statutes. He patiently sorts out the shifting factions, whether in the "Cave of Adullam" or the tearoom of the House of Commons. While concentrating on the leaders who made the critical decisions in Parliament, he also makes clear the role of the agitation beyond. He clarifies the highly technical provisions of the various clauses and amendments and fills in the story with just the additional detail that is required. Throughout the book Smith makes excellent use of material derived from extensive research in manuscript collections. In sum, this is a definitive work.

What lends special distinction to the book is the author's thorough command of the social, political, and ideological context in which the events took place. Without interrupting the smooth flow of the narrative, Smith brings into play his formidable knowledge of the "structure of politics" of mid-Victorian England. Woven into the fabric of the story is a subtle analysis of the interplay between social and institutional forces on the one hand and unique individuals on the other. Smith is particularly good at dissecting the personal and political motives of men like Russell and Disraeli; at every point he brings to bear a perceptive and disinterested intelligence, quite free of ideological bias. As a result, without departing from the main lines of such standard interpretations as that of Asa Briggs, for example, Smith has deepened and enhanced our understanding of the second Reform Act and of mid-Victorian England.

Columbia University Trygve R. Tholfsen

THE DOWNFALL OF THE LIBERAL PARTY, 1914–1935. By *Trevor Wilson*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1966. Pp. 415. $7.50.)

Mr. Wilson, suspicious of those hindsight interpretations that contend that the disintegration of the Liberal party was inevitable and discernible before the First World War, emphasizes the shattering impact of the war on those committed to voluntarism, social reform, and international cooperation. Asquith, until his "overthrow" and replacement by Lloyd George in December 1916, embodied the Liberal predicament. To many he was too quick to abandon Liberal principles, especially in the controversy over conscription. Others derided him for not abandoning those principles fast enough. He was a drifter, it was said, incapable of galvanizing the nation for a maximum effort. As for Lloyd George, he had a streak of ruthlessness and a scorn for party ties that made him indispensable in

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wartime but that, when retained after party organization and discipline had been restored, amounted to political obtuseness. Caring not where his support originated so long as it kept him in power, he deliberately sought in 1918 to exploit a swing to the Right and to maintain the Tory-dominated coalition. Then when the Tories disowned him in 1922 he found himself with no party base, his most valuable proposals suspect or ignored. Liberal reunion, moreover, was accompanied by such a residue of resentment and such bickering over the notorious Lloyd George Fund as to discredit the party and sap its remaining strength.

Wilson assumes that the Liberal party need not have become a permanent cripple, that with better luck and wiser leaders it might have salvaged something even from the wreckage of the 1918 election, which he analyzes in a masterly way. He nevertheless concludes that the party fell because of a "revolution in ideas." This conclusion does not follow from Wilson's own narrative and analysis. The party had shown a remarkable capacity for accepting and propagating new ideas before 1914. Why, even granted the shock of the war, did it so suddenly fail to reflect new attitudes? Surely the answer must rely heavily on the fact that the Liberals were singularly unfortunate in their leaders, in the apathetic Asquith who would not lead and in the self-seeking Lloyd George who deserted. Wilson wonders what would have happened had Lloyd George, in 1918, despite the virtual certainty of a Tory victory, posed or practiced self-abnegation and announced that he was returning to the Liberal fold. He was the only man capable of rallying most of the forces of the Left around a single banner, and the Asquithites could not have barred his way. Instead, in the pursuit of immediate advantage, he, like a chameleon, took on the coloration of his Tory associates, leaving the Liberals divided and dazed at the decisive moment of Labour's challenge. By the time the Liberals were reunited in 1923 it was too late to induce Labour to come to some viable arrangement aimed at avoiding that waste of radical energy and that competition between radicals for votes, which in the interwar years worked to the almost constant advantage of the Tories. Labour emerged as the strongest party on the Left after the war more by way of default, by filling a vacuum, than by scoring a victory over Liberals in a contest of creeds. In fact, Liberals and Labourites continued to share a considerable identity of interest and outlook, with some of the Liberal projects of the late twenties more advanced than those of Labour. The "revolution in ideas" approach simply does not help very much.

The author has uncovered much new and valuable material and, with great skill, established the chronology and the main features of the Liberal party's breakup. The question of why and when the Liberal party reached the point of no return may be unanswerable. It will continue, however, to intrigue historians and to warrant further inquiry.

Ohio State University PHILIP P. POIRIER

DIARIES AND LETTERS, 1930–1939. By *Harold Nicolson*. Edited by *Nigel Nicolson*. (New York: Atheneum. 1966. Pp. 447. $7.50.)

THIS, the first of three projected volumes, begins with the diarist resigning from

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the British Foreign Service and ends with the outbreak of World War II. In these years, while Britain slithered about from depression to appeasement and finally to the verge of destruction, Nicolson published eight books, yet fumbled vainly for the keys to a satisfying career. The diaries are riddled with uncertainty and self-doubt to an extent that will surprise those who know him through his urbane published works. In 1931 he feels "irreparably shallow"; in 1936 he laments, after a bad performance in the House of Commons, "Three minutes of blindness and a ruined career! But I do not seriously believe this, although I could kick myself. . . ." He is always something of an outsider; in 1930–1931 he flirts disastrously with Mosley's incipient fascism, and when he returns to politics, successfully this time, it is as a National Labour M.P.—the one backbencher in that pathetic splinter group of latter-day would-be Peelites. (Among a variety of seriocomic vignettes in the book there is Mrs. Dugdale, niece and biographer of A. J. Balfour, threatening to resign from the National Labour party over Munich.)

Yet Nicolson's pages teem with the great, the near great, and the merely prominent. He is forever dining with Winston Churchill, chatting with Somerset Maugham, taking tea with Edward VIII and Mrs. Simpson, or, during a strange period in which he was writing the biography of Dwight Morrow, staying on a Maine island as the guest of the Charles Lindberghs. To his credit the diaries, interspersed with letters exchanged with his wife, the novelist V. Sackville-West, take on a more compelling urgency and exhibit fewer overtones of snobbishness (both social and intellectual) as the desperate crises of 1938–1939 approach. Perhaps the greatest value for the historian is not the new information they present on statesmen or events, for that is on the whole slight, but the unforgettable impression they leave of an intelligent, articulate, sensitive, often perceptive, but also futile and fastidious man, living through harsh times in a nation that has come adrift from its historic moorings.

Nigel Nicolson's footnotes are often skeletal, as when Bernard Baruch is identified as "American statesman, 1870–1965," and A. A. Milne simply as "Author and journalist." His introduction, however, is a graceful yet admirably objective portrait of his father, the diarist.

Stanford University RICHARD W. LYMAN

THE BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION OF 1966. By *D. E. Butler* and *Anthony King*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 338. $10.00.)

THIS is the most recent in the series of volumes that describe and analyze British general elections since 1945. Because the election of 1966 held few surprises—the public opinion polls correctly predicted a major Labour triumph, possibly contributing thereby to a diminished interest in the campaign itself—importance attaches to the preparations made by the parties for the general election. The Labour party, with its miniscule 1964 majority, held office for seventeen months in circumstances at times ominous and threatening. Harold Wilson chose to dissolve Parliament in March 1966 when he concluded that Labour's chances of winning were excellent.

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Edward Heath's task was not easy. Chosen as Tory leader when his party was already many months in opposition, he accepted from the beginning that his first responsibility was to prepare the Tory party for an election that might be imminent. Once the campaign started, he set out to impress the electorate with his own political capabilities. While the Tories made a great effort to ready themselves for the election, and Heath did what he could to show himself Wilson's equal as a politician, the Tory conversion to new policies was not complete in March 1966, and Heath's electoral performance, while satisfactory to the elite within his party, did not cause the country to appreciate how much he had improved as a political campaigner.

The Labour party had its own problems. Many Labour candidates remained faithful to the slogans of the 1950's, which were scarcely adequate to the issues of 1966. The Labour party program was ambiguous in many areas, but neither the Liberals nor the Tories were able to capitalize on these failings. The Labour campaign, "safe" and professional, produced the anticipated results. The 1966 experience, the authors conclude, reinforces "doubts about the ability of either the political parties or the mass media to communicate complex ideas to the public at large, at least in a short period of time." Not the least of Wilson's achievements was that he chose well in selecting the date of the general election. This volume, like its predecessors, must be viewed as essential reading for those who are interested in recent British electoral politics.

Brown University STEPHEN R. GRAUBARD

ORANGEISM IN IRELAND AND BRITAIN, 1795–1836. By *Hereward Senior.* [Studies in Irish History, Second Series, Volume IV.] (New York: Hillary House. 1966. Pp. x, 314. $8.50.)

SENIOR traces the origin of the Orange Order in 1795 to the border counties of Ulster. There Protestant peasants reacted to Catholic peasant agrarian secret societies, the gradual release of Catholics from the restrictions of the penal laws, and their competition with Protestants for farms in a land-hungry country. The Protestant gentry observed the progress of Orangeism, then gave support, finally took over and reorganized the movement, and used it as an instrument to preserve Protestant ascendancy. Orangemen terrorized Catholics, drove some of them out of Ulster into Connacht, and caused many to join the revolutionary United Irishmen. The government armed Orangemen to help crush the revolution of 1798. In the early nineteenth century the Orange Order continued as a pressure group and a potential military force to maintain Protestant domination in Ireland.

The Orange Order in Britain originated in the army, attracted the allegiance of such powerful people as the Duke of Cumberland, who became grand master of the Orange lodges in Ireland and Britain, but the aristocracy as a group remained outside the movement. Ultra-Tories had only limited success in using Orangeism to frustrate reform, and Tory leaders like Peel distrusted the order and refused to use Orange fanaticism to destroy the agitation for Catholic Emancipation. In 1836 Cumberland disbanded the order when Radi-

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cal exposures of Orange influence in the army and their arguments that Orangeism was subversive threatened parliamentary action against the movement. But the Orange Order would rise again and play an important role in Anglo-Irish relations.

Senior has conscientiously researched a neglected topic, and his history of the origins and early years of the order is a valuable contribution to British and Irish history. Although Senior has written an important book, he has not realized the full potential of his subject. His organization of material obscures themes, his style is too flat to describe adequately the passion and emotion of Orangeism, and his text does not satisfactorily connect the Orange movement with the history and influence of no-popery in modern Britain. Senior fails to analyze the peculiar psychological quirks that produce the Orange type of mentality. By doing so, he could have advanced our understanding of other groups that use bigotry to maintain an ascendant position in society. Senior's effort to explain Orange violence as a reaction to the similar activities of a Catholic peasant secret society is a praiseworthy attempt at impartiality but an inadequate thesis. One cannot equate the excesses of a persecuted and desperate majority to the violence of a minority with access to the power structure.

Marquette University LAWRENCE J. MCCAFFREY

L'HISTOIRE SOCIALE: SOURCES ET MÉTHODES. COLLOQUE DE L'ÉCOLE NORMALE SUPÉRIEURE DE SAINT-CLOUD (15–16 MAI 1965). (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1967. Pp. 298. 15 fr.)

THIS record of a colloquium held in May 1965 enables us to sample current work being done in France in the field of French social history. Over two hundred scholars attended, and participants were drawn from varied schools and regions. Ernest Labrousse, who served as chairman, opened the sessions with a tribute to Lucien Febvre, Marc Bloch, Georges Lefebvre, and other late masters. The papers that followed covered a wide range of topics and reflected the somewhat amorphous nature of the field. They were loosely grouped under four headings: goals and problems, source materials, new methods and techniques, neighboring disciplines. No common theme was provided. Selection of topics seemed haphazard. There was one paper on ancient history but none on medieval. Here, as elsewhere, the homage paid Bloch proved deceptive. Demography, geography, economics, and literary and religious history served as "neighboring disciplines."

Since no one paper seemed outstanding, a few general observations are in order. An unneighborly attitude toward law and politics was manifested. When various *conjonctures* were discussed, legal fictions and social realities, state and society were sharply dichotomized. Technical problems, computer programs, microfilming, archival organization, coding systems, and the like loomed large. Theoretical problems, stemming from conflicting views of social groupings, cropped up often, with inconclusive results.

There was agreement that social historians must deal with groups not individuals, should count and measure wherever possible, and should eschew mere

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description in favor of testing general theories. How individuals should be grouped, what should be counted and measured, and which general theories should be tested proved more controversial. At one point the chairman commented that he preferred seeking solutions to difficulties rather than seeking difficulties posed by solutions. But the difficulties faced by *ancien régime* scholars —sparse documentation, regional particularities, ambiguous nomenclature, unspecialized occupational roles, the gap between past and present views of society—proved irrepressible.

These issues were not thoroughly aired. Specialists in early modern developments, notably Raymond Mousnier, however, frequently crossed swords with those who discussed more recent social trends. The controversial undercurrent surfaced in the end. A future colloquium oriented around the theme of "ordres et classes" was proposed by the chairman in his concluding remarks.

American University ELIZABETH L. EISENSTEIN

LE CLERGÉ PAROISSIAL CATHOLIQUE EN HAUTE ALSACE SOUS L'ANCIEN RÉGIME (1648–1789). By *André Schaer*. Preface by *J. Gaudemet*. [Histoire et sociologie de l'Église, Volume VI.] ([Paris:] Sirey. 1966. Pp. ix, 299. 26 fr.)

FATHER Schaer, a priest in the Colmar area since the liberation, has given us a full and detailed study of a complex diocese in a time of radical change. He considers two themes that will be of special interest to the general student: the Gallicization of the Haute Alsace in the years after 1680, and the parallel radical increase in the proportion of the Catholic population.

Until the 1680's, long after the centralizing monarchy of Louis XIV assumed control of Alsace, most of the key ecclesiastical offices there were in the hands of non-Frenchmen. Between 1680 and 1730 the monarchy, with the aid of the intendants, Gallicized the hierarchy and secured a heavy influx of French-speaking immigrants. Schaer suggests rather cautiously that this tended to produce "l'unité nationale." But the parish priests, he notes, continued to use German as the language of everyday speech; newly arrived priests practiced a "bilinguisme éclairé."

The revocation of 1685 did not, of course, apply to Alsace. The methods of recovering the province for Catholicism had therefore to be subtler than in the rest of France. Catholic immigrants were brought in; "cures royales" were established in areas predominantly Lutheran; Jesuits and Capuchins set about trying to proselytize a stubbornly heretical populace. It is hard to agree with the author when he perceives in this rather strenuous Catholic-Lutheran "dialogue" a prelude to today's ecumenism. The first article in the *cahier* of the Alsatian clergy in 1789 damns freedom of conscience absolutely and inveighs against all non-Catholic public worship. Schaer tells us nothing, except anecdotally, about Catholic attitudes toward Jews. The Catholic milieu, like the Lutheran, was prejudiced in this regard. In the *cahier* of 1789, the clergy describe the Jews as "la principale source de la misère du peuple . . . et de la dépravation morale." Roland Marx, in a recent monograph, has characterized the Alsatian clergy of

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this period as guilty of "intolérance systématique." This is a severe judgment, but the evidence appears substantial enough to support it.

The Alsatian clergy, Schaer establishes, knew little of Jansenist or quietist or other quarrels within the Church. They were solidly orthodox, slowly assimilating the lessons of the Council of Trent. This did not produce the intellectual vigor claimed for them here. Catching up with Trent did not allow them much time to cope with the more immediate challenge posed by the Enlightenment. It was in the neighboring society of Protestant pastors, especially in and around Strasbourg, that Alsatian Christianity wrestled with the new thought. This wide difference in response to the intellectual radicalism of the age helps to explain the divisions in Alsatian society during the revolutionary decade.

This study is essentially a chronicle, informed by intelligent piety, more useful for its carefully detailed revelations than for its general conclusions.

Loyola College, Montreal GEOFFREY ADAMS

LA NOBLESSE BRETONNE AU XVIII^e SIÈCLE. In two volumes. By *Jean Meyer*. [Bibliothèque générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1966. Pp. cv, 590; 592–1292.)

MASSIVE, exhaustive, definitive—these are the appropriate adjectives to describe Jean Meyer's thirteen-hundred-page work on the nobility of Brittany in the eighteenth century. This is the first comprehensive study of the nobility of an entire province during the last century of the old regime, much wider in scope, for example, than the works of François Bluche on the magistrates of Paris or of Jean Egret on the parlement of Dauphiné. Based solidly on the archives of five departments and of Paris, the study relies especially on capitation rolls, intendants' reports, wills, farm leases, and family accounts, not to exclude memoirs, correspondence, and legal treatises. An extremely useful annotated bibliography includes articles from both national and local journals, as well as the relevant books and articles in English.

Representing three thousand families or about 1 per cent of the population of Brittany, the second estate was less cohesive than its articulate parliamentary leadership would suggest. In 1710 about one-third of the order were "rich," paying over fifty livres capitation tax, 54 per cent were "poor," paying less than twenty livres, with 38 per cent paying less than ten livres! Only 15 per cent could be called middling nobility. The court nobility—thirty-eight families, including such famous names as Penthièvre, Bourbon-Condé, Rohan-Guéménée—contributed to intranoble dissension not only by their royal favor and absenteeism, but more specifically by their efforts to exclude the lesser nobles from the provincial Estates and to extract more feudal obligations from them. In Brittany the noble hierarchy of fiefs remained intact. On the other hand, there were only three hundred families ennobled in the sixty years before 1789, making the older nobility the overwhelming majority of the order. As for the Parlement of Rennes, 63 per cent of its members could claim nobility before 1500, and no nonnoble could become a magistrate since a ruling of 1676. Distinctions between "robe" and "sword" had little meaning in such a situation, and the words do not appear in

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the local vocabulary. Finally, despite the proximity of Nantes and Saint-Malo, less than a quarter of the parliamentary families married their sons to heiresses of commercial fortunes or even to *anoblis*. In short, although internal tensions existed, the Breton nobility maintained a remarkable social exclusiveness.

Social predominance was backed by a firm hold on the land. Meyer estimates that the nobility received about one-third of the agricultural revenues of the province in 1735 and at least doubled their incomes by 1789. The increase had been effected, not by agricultural improvements, but by raising rents and shares of the harvest on substantial domain lands and by profiting from a 70 per cent rise in grain prices in the fifty years before the Revolution. It is paradoxical that there seems to have been little "seigneurial reaction" in the narrow sense of more rigorous collection of dues, but labor services increased and seigneurial justice kept peasant protest within bounds. Even before 1750 revenues from seigneurial dues and especially from the mutation fees were substantial, making up almost half of the landed income of the court and parliamentary nobility of Upper Brittany. The nobles of Lower Brittany, though more modest landlords, had an even greater hold on the peasantry through a special leasehold, the *domaine congéable*. Although the facts of the case are beyond dispute, the author's suggestion that disparity of income alone threw the "monde paysan" into the hands of the "bourgeoisie" in 1789 appears too simple. A closer examination of the attitudes of land agents, local notaries, and *fermiers* toward their seigneurs, for example, might uncover some rural revolutionary leadership.

Meyer relies on an intimate familiarity with the Breton countryside and a broad knowledge of literary sources from Chateaubriand to Balzac as well as on marriage contracts, inventories of private and public libraries, and even *lettres de cachet* to recapture a *genre de vie* and fashion a "noble psychology." The typical Breton noble was neither well read nor well schooled. His spelling was poor, his syntax awkward, and his distractions physical, gregarious, and vocal rather than contemplative or intellectual. His modest library, nevertheless, suggests an evolution from religious and legal interests not to Bayle or Voltaire or even the physiocrats, but to history and travel literature. Meyer also stresses the new tendency of nobles to live in the towns for six months of the year, indulging Parisian tastes in architecture and interior decoration, and spending more lavishly on display. Although the author regards this urbanization as a threat to their solvency, contemporary nobles from Rennes to Tréguier seemed smugly complacent, the unrivaled, natural elite of the province.

Johns Hopkins University ROBERT FORSTER

HISTOIRE DE L'ANTICLÉRICALISME FRANÇAIS. By *Alec Mellor*. ([Paris:] Mame. 1966. Pp. 496. 25 fr.)

ALEC Mellor is a Parisian barrister who has published, among other works, a series of three volumes on the theme of a possible reconciliation between Freemasonry, especially French Freemasonry, and the Roman Catholic Church, a project not as absurd after the pontificate of John XXIII and Vatican II as it would have been earlier. This history of French anticlericalism is in a sense a

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by-product of the author's studies of Freemasonry. Mellor is clearly a good modern French Catholic, by no means a zealot, with a good historian's respect for facts and for the critical apparatus of the profession. He does not spend much time on semantics, but does establish as a reality French anticlericalism, a cluster of ideas deriving from the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, anti-Christian, indeed antireligious, increasingly well organized as a political "party," and reaching its apogee with the triumph of Waldeck-Rousseau and Combes in the early years of the twentieth century. He holds that the Freemasons themselves were only gradually identified with anticlericalism as the nineteenth century wore on; by the end of the century they had, however, partly through effective propaganda by the anticlerical Left, partly by the errors of clerical and royalist conservatives, come to so complete an identification with that party as to seem synonymous with it.

The major thesis of the basic separateness of the Masonic movement and the anti-Christianity of the Enlightenment is surely disputable, but it is not wholly baseless; after all, the Freemasons were believers, faithful to a long tradition by no means outside the Judaeo-Christian tradition. The book concludes with a section entitled "La désagrégation de l'anti-cléricalisme français," which also advances, as the very title indicates, a thesis that the clerical-anticlerical struggle that has run through so much of French history in the last five or six generations has so far diminished as to be in fact a thing of the past. Mellor is clearly of a conciliating disposition, inclined to an unfashionable optimism about the possibilities of diminishing some of the conflicts of our current "Time of Troubles." But even this last thesis is not altogether without foundation. In postliberation France, and especially among the young, the old stereotyped conflict, nicely symbolized in town and village by the opposition of *curé* and *instituteur,* is surely less bitter, no longer the height of fashion. M. Homais is not dead, is perhaps immortal, but he is no longer the man he was.

Harvard University CRANE BRINTON

THE MACLURE COLLECTION OF FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY MATERIAL. Edited by *James D. Hardy, Jr., et al.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1966. Pp. xxix, 456. $50.00.)

IN 1821 William S. Maclure, a wealthy Philadelphia merchant and philanthropist, turned over to the library of the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia a remarkable collection of some 25,000 pamphlets and other printed items relating to the French Revolution, which he had apparently recently acquired in Europe. Subsequently, the 1,460 volumes in which the materials were bound were turned over to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania where they remained until 1949 when they were given to the University of Pennsylvania library. This publication is the fruit of many years of cooperative effort by the library, the department of history, and the University of Pennsylvania Press to make this remarkable collection of French revolutionary materials better known and more accessible to scholars.

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Since cataloguing so many items in the traditional way would have been far too costly, it was decided to publish what amounts to a shelf list of all titles contained in the 1,460 volumes. Preceding the listing is a table indicating in summary fashion the topics covered by the pamphlets in each volume. At the end of the listing are three indexes of authors or other sources, such as committees or commissions, with cross references to the volumes in which their publications are to be found. These do not include the names of attributed authors of anonymous pamphlets, although many of these are now known. The editors have also included a brief preface describing the collection, a short essay on other notable pamphlet collections in this country, and an interesting vignette on Maclure.

One hesitates to be too critical, considering the prodigious amount of labor that has gone into this listing. Clearly it will be of great advantage to have this volume at hand instead of having to go to Philadelphia to check pamphlet titles. It will also be most helpful if one is looking for all the publications of a particular man or committee. If, however, one wishes to know whether a certain anonymous pamphlet is in the Maclure collection, it will still be necessary to scan the contents of all 1,460 volumes. Since a significant number of pamphlets, especially in the prerevolutionary period, are anonymous, this is a rather critical deficiency. On balance, however, scholars of the French Revolution cannot help but be grateful to all involved in the production of this book.

North Carolina State University RALPH W. GREENLAW

HISTOIRE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT EN FRANCE: LES GRANDES ÉTAPES, 1789–1964. By *Félix Ponteil*. ([Paris:] Sirey. 1966. Pp. 454. 35 fr.)

THIS book, useful as it is, is misnamed; it is actually a chronicle of educational legislation and administrative organization. The author deals only in the broadest way with questions of curriculum, he barely touches on the development and application of successive new methods of teaching and research, and he treats the political battles that produced the laws he discusses only in the sketchiest manner. M. Ponteil's work is valuable, however, in spite of these vast omissions, for it is the first detailed survey of the matters he does cover.

After outlining the educational system as it existed in the eighteenth century, Ponteil devotes almost a quarter of his book to a description of the educational projects introduced and laws passed during the Revolution and Empire. Thereafter he discusses virtually every modification of the system made up to 1964. He carefully analyzes changes in organization and administration and briefly outlines curricular changes. He introduces figures on attendance in various kinds of educational institutions and gives indications of the changes in the economic status of members of the teaching profession. Finally, he includes an excellent bibliography. There are no footnotes, but the laws discussed are all dated and thus can be found easily in official documents.

The style is pedestrian, and the book, incredibly dull, but scholars will find this work useful for reference and as a guide for their own research. A real history of French education, treating in depth not only legislation and admin-

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istration but also the complex interactions between school, state, and society, is still to be written.

Rutgers University CARTER JEFFERSON

THE WHITE TERROR AND THE POLITICAL REACTION AFTER WATERLOO. By *Daniel P. Resnick*. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LXXVII.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1966. Pp. ix, 152. $4.25.)

NAPOLEON'S return from Elba shattered many delicate relationships among Royalists and former Bonapartists and revolutionary officials who had been coexisting during the first Restoration. People of importance had to commit themselves during the Hundred Days; passivity was interpreted as Bonapartism; with the second Restoration there were scores to settle. In counterrevolution as in revolution there were outlets for bigotry and class antagonisms and factionalism. Protestants at Nîmes suffered during the second Restoration for political reasons but also for being well to do and religiously different. The Duke of Angoulême, Louis XVIII's nephew, who had taken refuge in Spain during the Hundred Days, returned to Languedoc as leader of the ultra-Royalists and began to appoint officials without regard for the opinions of his uncle's ministers at Paris. There was a White Terror that took several forms: popular disorders, political arrests, trials before regular and special courts, and wholesale replacement of officeholders. There may even have been some thought of a southern secession. Ernest Daudet, author of *La Terreur Blanche* (1878), wrote that "the ultra-royalist party in Toulouse wanted . . . to detach the Midi from France . . . ," but Daudet did not publish this opinion; the quotation is from a letter discovered by Daniel Resnick.

Resnick's book is the second on the White Terror, Daudet's having previously had the field to itself except for references in general and local histories. So far as the archives permit, Resnick's careful study measures the extent of the Terror in the Midi and shows its relationships to the Royalist reconquest of military and political power, to local government institutions, and, on the national level, to the repressive legislation and parliamentary maneuvers of the "chambre introuvable." The author makes good his title by telling us what we need to know about the political significance of the White Terror, and, moreover, by quantifying in the tradition of Donald Greer, he attacks unwholesome mysteries concerning this episode. He is aware of ideological and sociological complexities, but does not go into them; his emphasis is on legal and statistical precision, and his accomplishment is to provide a clear focus on one aspect of the transition from the revolutionary era to the Restoration.

Swarthmore College PAUL H. BEIK

LE TOAST D'ALGER: DOCUMENTS, 1890–1891. By *Xavier de Montclos*. (Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard. 1966. Pp. 448.)

THIS collection of documents, prefaced by an introductory essay, is a valuable

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and informative work on a historic act: the toast to the French fleet by which the archbishop of Algiers, Cardinal Lavigerie, urged French Catholics to abandon royalist opposition to the Third Republic and accept the regime in the hope of effacing its anticlericalism. The work is the *thèse secondaire* of Father Xavier de Montclos of the White Fathers, and it is of the same high quality as his monumental work on Lavigerie in the years 1846–1878. While the chronological scope is limited (October 1890–June 1891), the subject and the author's treatment of it are important.

The work presents some two hundred documents, many of them unpublished, drawn from diverse archives. About three-quarters of them are from the voluminous Lavigerie papers which Montclos has collected, classified, and studied over many years. In enlightening us on the origins of the toast and the reactions to it, the documents evoke, as only documents can, the attitudes and states of mind as well as the actions of bishops and clergy, Catholics and conservatives of late nineteenth-century France. The documents are well arranged, following a judicious compromise between topic and chronology. The explanatory notes, indexing, and bibliography are well done and very useful.

The introductory essay is devoted largely to the seemingly perennial controversy on the origins of the toast. Montclos finds Lavigerie's accounts of the matter preferable to that of others, notably Leo XIII. Montclos maintains that Lavigerie was the Pope's obedient spokesman; he argues his case skillfully and presents impressive evidence. But it seems to me that he unduly minimizes Lavigerie's responsibility and inconsistencies. (In a short review I can only refer the interested specialist to my treatment of this complex matter in the *Catholic Historical Review,* LI [July 1965]; here he can see where my interpretation of some evidence differs from that of Montclos.) The treatment of Payan d'Augery's testimony is not convincing. The editing (which omits corrections) and interpretation of Lavigerie's letter of October 18, 1890, to Foreign Minister Ribot leave something to be desired. The inclusion of documents revealing Lavigerie's thought and actions in the year prior to the toast, such as his letters to Rome in the spring of 1890, would have been desirable.

But these reservations should not obscure the fact that the author-editor has rendered another fine service to students of modern French and ecclesiastical history, and I expect him, in time, to render more.

University of Notre Dame JAMES E. WARD

FRANCE AND THE DREYFUS AFFAIR. By *Douglas Johnson.* [Blandford History Series, Problems of History.] (New York: Walker and Company. 1967. Pp. 242. $5.95.)

ONE more book on the Dreyfus affair, but an excellent one: clear, concise, based on thorough reading of the sources, and as objective as the still-unraveled mystery permits. Professor Johnson, who recently gave us a useful study of Guizot and his times, has now written what is probably the most serviceable account of a case that he follows from its origins to the unsavory disillusions in which it petered out. He indicates the multiple and complex possibilities of accusations

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and counteraccusations, the basis for rival points of view, and the most plausible interpretation of every stage in the complicated game played by officers and politicians, intellectuals, publicists, and Dreyfus' own family—a game in which the putative hero, or pawn, remains the greatest mystery. Despite the fact that there is no attempt to elucidate the character of Dreyfus himself (a disappointment balanced by the refreshing refusal to propound a final solution), the result is the kind of book one would unhesitatingly recommend as both initiation to and summary of the affair.

The introduction poses the question of why a miscarriage of justice should have developed into a major political affair—what Daniel Halévy would even call a civil war—and suggests this was "because it corresponded to something particular within France." As the nimbly told tale draws one on, Johnson fulfills his promise to study not only Dreyfus but his country and his people, enlisting the peculiarities of French society, press, politics, and personalities to illuminate obscure situations. His final chapter provides a thoughtful discussion of the peculiar circumstances that boosted the case to prominence and of its eventual effects on the Third Republic. Of these, a major one was that it channeled attention away from concrete questions and reforms to ideological formulas and symbols that would serve as substitute issues, allowing all parties to concentrate on words rather than things, politics rather than policies: a tendency soon to become a tradition.

University of California, Los Angeles EUGEN WEBER

DIE GRUBENKATASTROPHE VON COURRIÈRES 1906: EIN BEITRAG ZUR SOZIALGESCHICHTE DER DRITTEN REPUBLIK UND ZUM DEUTSCH-FRANZÖSISCHEN VERHÄLTNIS UM DIE JAHRHUNDERTWENDE. By *Heinz-Otto Sieburg*. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH. 1967. Pp. viii, 192, 5 plates. DM 36.)

THIS volume focuses on the coal mine disaster at and near Courrières in March 1906, in which eleven hundred miners died. After discussing the geographic situation and the history of the mines, the author describes in detail the disaster and the rescue work carried out by the French and by a volunteer group from the German mines with special equipment for the purpose. He then treats, although incompletely, the immediately ensuing strike of French miners and closes with an account of the probable causes of the disaster, the reforms made in consequence of the tragedy, and the contemporary and subsequent political exploitation of the cooperation between the French and German miners.

The text is supplemented by twenty-five pages in which one finds footnotes, in small type, with extensive discussion of working conditions, social and health insurance, and other matters pertaining to mines and miners in France and in other countries. There follow fifty-six pages of hitherto unpublished documents that, perhaps with one exception, are equally important. One striking document, written by a miner sixteen months later, tells of the experience he and twelve others endured during twenty days underground before their rescue. The fourth document, a speech by the German director, G. A. Meyer, reveals an element of

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nationalistic antagonism on the directing level not found among the mineworkers themselves. The author has used the sources in the departmental archives in Arras and in the archives of the Hibernia Mining Company in Herne (Westphalia), some twenty-three French and German newspapers, the numerous published sources, and all the relevant secondary studies.

He packs a surprising amount of information about a wide variety of topics into a small space, but always maintains a judicious attitude. He does not quite reach his objective of making a social study in depth because he omits such important aspects of the case as the part played by French mineowners, and because he treats some matters too briefly, for example, the role of the French government in the crisis.

University of California, Los Angeles EUGENE N. ANDERSON

FRENCH COMMUNISM IN THE MAKING, 1914–1924. By *Robert Wohl.* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 530. $12.50.)

PROFESSOR Wohl has written a very good history of the origins and earliest years of the French Communist party. Starting with intelligent if general analyses of the pre-1914 French working-class movements, he concentrates on their transformation under the impact of World War I and the Bolshevik revolution; their decisive postwar divisions and realignment at Tours; and the tortuous history of the Communist party until it was finally "bolshevized" in 1925. The history of the years between 1914 and 1920 is, of course, a twice-told tale. But if Wohl's book lacks the amplitude of detail in Mme. Kriegel's thesis or the passion of commitment in Rosmer's two volumes, it is clearer than the former and more judicious than the latter. The author's real contribution, however, is his accurate account of the years 1920–1925, which not only supersedes any other printed history of the subject, but also manages to make the turbulent record of the party in those years wholly intelligible. His sharply etched analysis of the fall and rise of *le Capitaine* Treint in 1924 is a splendid achievement.

Wohl has read widely in the primary printed sources and in the unpublished archives of several key militants. Among the available sources, the only conspicuous omissions are the F7 series in the archives of the Ministry of the Interior and the B/a series in the archives of the Prefecture of Police—that is, the police records for the years 1914–1920 (and beyond that date in the Quai des Orfèvres). Though the author has noted that he considers them overrated, he would have found in them, for example, a sense of the strike movements of 1917 and 1918, their motives and potentialities, more acute than his own grasp of them. But for the history of a Communist party, which perforce rests on fragmentary documentation, the author has easily achieved a high standard of scholarship. It has enabled him to move convincingly to his central explanation for the founding of the PCF: "The mystique of the Russian Revolution took root in a historical situation determined, on the one hand, by the unexpected success of the Bolsheviks in Russia and, on the other, by the unexpected failure of reformism in France."

While the author has so ably narrated the early history of the party, he has

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not really succeeded, despite several analytical forays, in clarifying Communism as a movement, linked to a long working-class evolution and expressive of its self-consciousness. For in focusing on the party mechanism, he fixes his attention far more on Moscow than on the hard realities of the French social and political system, far more on the activity of bureaucrats than on the way workers had to live. Even if he had probed more extensively some of the militants he describes, he would have found better clues. What did Communism mean in refusing society, in proclaiming equality of sex and race, in knowing how workers lived? It all requires another order of evidence, as Kriegel, whom Wohl so justifiably admires, recently wrote: "Ainsi, l'histoire du mot, de la réalité, du concept, du projet révolutionnaire dans ses modalités concrètes, spatiales et temporelles, cette histoire qui n'est pas faite devrait en tout état de cause constituter un fil d'Ariane permettant de traverser de bout en bout la spiritualité ouvrière et de conduire à une nouvelle lecture de l'histoire sociale." (*Preuves* [May 1967].)

University of Wisconsin HARVEY GOLDBERG

LA CROISSANCE DE LA C.G.T., 1918–1921: ESSAI STATISTIQUE. By *Annie Kriegel*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI[e] Section, Sciences économiques et sociales. Société, mouvements sociaux et idéologies. First Series, Études, Number 8.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1966. Pp. 254.)

MME. Kriegel established her reputation as a leading authority on contemporary French social history with the publication in 1964 of her massive thesis, *Aux origines du Communisme français 1914–1920*. In that work, as well as in several short books and articles derived from it, she argued that the schism at the Congress of Tours and the founding of the French Communist party were neither predestined nor revolutionary events, but miscalculations and accidents of history. Founded in December 1920, when a victorious France was already recovering stability, the new party responded not to any serious revolutionary situation, but to a peculiar combination of defeat and victory: the defeat of Socialism (the elections of November 1919) and syndicalism (the spring strikes of 1920); and the victory of Bolshevism over both its internal and foreign enemies. The traditional methods of achieving the socialist society were thus discredited. As their final recourse, militants in the SFIO and the CGT could count only on the hegemony of the USSR in Europe; in founding the Communist party, they conceived of it as the beneficiary of the Bolshevik advance. But the Russians retreated before Warsaw and stranded the Communists of Central and Western Europe. The French party, announcing a revolution that would never come, survived only by adapting itself to the older traditions and concerns of prewar French Socialism.

This book, Kriegel's complementary thesis, must be read as an elaborate statistical argument to support parts of her over-all interpretation. Extensively and rigorously exploiting the data on *syndicats* and *syndiqués* in each federation, presented in the reports of the four CGT congresses between 1918 and 1921, she seeks to refute the contention that the great increase in union membership

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after the war indicated a revolutionary flood tide in France. Arguing that the increase in CGT membership between 1911 and 1920 was itself not very great (only 53 per cent), she stresses the sharp decline between 1920 and 1921 (20 per cent) to underscore the ephemeral nature of the postwar *élan*. Furthermore, she demonstrates statistically that the new *syndicats,* suddenly formed and as quickly disbanded (the *syndicats éphémères*), sided more frequently at the congresses with the *majoritaires* than the revolutionary *minoritaires*. She thus concludes that the ideological factor was essentially negligible in the postwar growth of the CGT, or, in other terms, that the new *syndiqués* were not the cadres for a revolution.

In her two theses, Kriegel constructed a trenchant case for the irrelevance of a revolutionary party in 1920 and, by implication, for the tragedy of splitting the old SFIO. But that case confined a vast array of data within certain fixed premises and logical inferences about the conditions for a revolution and the psychology of French workers. The very dynamics of history rarely penetrated. Yet it is not the least of Kriegel's gifts that she has become her own most sensitive critic. Returning to her subject over and again, she now views the founding of the PCF, much more meaningfully, "comme une nouvelle tentative globale de briser net la tendance, jusque-là invaincue et apparemment invincible, a l'intégration de la classe ouvrière et ses organisations dans le jeu de la société et du pouvoir établis." (*Le Socialisme Français et le Pouvoir* [1966].) Though Kriegel's accomplishments to date have been considerable, her great work, I believe, will come in the near future.

University of Wisconsin HARVEY GOLDBERG

COENRAAD VAN BEUNINGEN'S POLITIEKE EN DIPLOMATIEKE AKTIVITEITEN IN DE JAREN 1667–1684. By *M. A. M. Franken.* [Historische Studies uitgegeven vanwege het Instituut voor Geschiedenis der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, Number 22.] (Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 1966. Pp. xi, 289. 19.50 gls.)

COENRAAD van Beuningen was one of those historical figures of the second rank, celebrated in their own day, who are now no more than names and silhouettes. For modern historians he has largely remained a man of one dimension, a diplomat of great abilities and greater irascibility who managed to make more enemies than friends. Cornelia W. Roldanus, in her biography, *Coenraad van Beuningen: Staatsman en Libertijn* (1931), emphasized the less familiar "libertine," the spiritualist, rationalist, and religious enthusiast, over the statesman. The theme of Van Beuningen's political and diplomatic activities is by contrast made the central thread of this learned and boldly suggestive study by a gifted young Dutch scholar.

Franken devotes his principal attention to the period beginning with the War of Devolution because it is the more obscure part of Van Beuningen's career, dominated by his passionate hostility to the expansionism of Louis XIV. In form, Franken's book is not a sustained narrative but a series of analytical essays re-

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sulting from close examination of the sources, printed and archival, and their implications for historical knowledge. The author drastically revises our understanding of Van Beuningen, who no longer appears as simply the spokesman of Amsterdam on the provincial, national, and European stage, but as a statesman in the fullest sense of the term, a man who sought to direct the destinies of the state. He was blocked in this aspiration by the leadership given first by De Witt, the master of wiles, and then by William III, the bulldog. Instead, Van Beuningen served both grand pensionary and stadholder as their most qualified and most difficult diplomat. He insisted on creating policy rather than just applying it, and he was willing to evade his masters' explicit commands. Louis XIV would not have tolerated such a self-willed diplomat for a moment; nor would he have feared to recall him because his influence at home would have been even more damaging, as William preferred to keep Van Beuningen in England in the early 1680's in spite of his downright disobedience to instructions. Franken also makes important suggestions for a revised view of the role of Amsterdam in Dutch politics in this period, which is more favorable than the customary Orange-tinted condemnation of the great city's "selfish" concern for profits over power.

This book on Van Beuningen is a valuable contribution to the reconsideration of the character of the Dutch "Golden Age" initiated by the late Pieter Geyl, with whom Franken began his university studies in history at Utrecht. A summary in English succinctly states the author's argument and indicates the key evidence.

Rutgers University HERBERT H. ROWEN

DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES BELGES, 1920–1940. LA POLITIQUE DE SÉCURITÉ EXTÉRIEURE. Volume V, PÉRIODE 1938–1940. Published by *Ch. De Visscher* and *F. Vanlangenhove*. [Documents relatifs au statut international de la Belgique depuis 1830, Part 1.] (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, Commission royale d'Histoire. 1966. Pp. 533.)

THIS fifth and last volume of the interwar diplomatic documents concerning Belgium's security problems and policies depicts the frustrations and final dismal failure associated with *les mains libres*. Having reverted to a foreign policy "exclusively and wholly" Belgian in 1936–1937 (see *AHR*, LXXII [Apr. 1967], 1001), Belgium tried desperately to avert making a choice in the continual European crisis from January 1938 to May 1940.

The 240 selected documents and 28 annexes reproduced represent the acute anxiety felt in Belgium, tied securely as it was to a politically neutral yet morally committed set of ideas. The mounting difficulties of the new international status ("neutral yet not indifferent," as P.-H. Spaak put it) are clearly illuminated in the repeated searches to avoid involvement in any armed conflict. These documents, when added to the Van Zuylen, Davignon, and Van Overstraeten memoirs and the Cammaerts and Miller monographs, will produce an understanding of greater depth on certain questions such as the possibilities for a revised Locarno, the activities of the Oslo powers, the state of mili-

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tary preparedness in the West, the spirit and intent of Munich, and the strategic significance of the "Keystone of Europe" in the last days of peace. With the peril obviously in the east, Belgium's independence policy and its nonobligatory interpretation of Article 16 of the League blocked the road through and the air over the Lowlands for both France and Britain. In its efforts to avoid antagonizing Hitler, the Belgian Foreign Ministry repeatedly claimed and in fact tried to practice *strict* neutrality. The conduct of Belgian diplomacy became more perplexing with rights of passage and overflight problems. The peace initiatives of Leopold III, and Wilhelmina, and the attempt at concerted action of the Oslo Group, particularly in August and November 1939 and the spring of 1940, are fully revealed in 105 documents, as are the rejections of these good offices in London, Paris, and Berlin. Straightforward impressions and intelligence data on the lack of military preparation, particularly in France, appear repeatedly. Expanded Belgian fortifications and semimobilization are constantly conditioned by the fear of offering an excuse for Nazi aggression, and therefore rearmament or full-scale military strength is never fully realized.

I find omissions of extraordinary interest and possible importance. No mention is made of internal pressures on foreign policy, either the debate to reenter staff conversations with the West, the role of the *soi-disant* free press, or Flemish reactions. The meaning and consequences of the Mechelen incident are obscured. These exceptions do not alter the fact, nevertheless, that this fully and accurately indexed and annotated collection is informative and cogent. The sense of national and international impotence associated with the small-power policy of self-reliance is, without doubt, conveyed, yet it was an agonizing experiment that Belgium would not accept as doomed to defeat until May 10, 1940.

Tulane University PIERRE HENRI LAURENT

MUUTTOLIIKE UUDENMAAN LÄÄNISSÄ ESI-INDUSTRIALISTISEN KAUDEN LOPULLA (1821–1880). By *Antti Rosenberg*. [Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, Number 70.] (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1966. Pp. 310.)

THIS highly statistical study of internal population movements in Uusimaa Province, southwestern Finland, during the preindustrial era spans the years 1821–1880. The materials have come from what must have been a laborious examination of parish records. In a sense, the volume usefully complements an investigation that covers a later period: Reino Lento's *Maassamuutto ja siihen vaikuttaneet tekijät Suomessa vuosina 1878–1939* (1951). Rosenberg has unearthed significant data about the geographical origins of the migrants, their occupational backgrounds, their age and sex composition, the movement's dimensions and directions, its fluctuations, and the factors stimulating or inhibiting the flow of human beings.

From what seems like mountains of statistics, a few findings may be extracted. There was a total of 438,186 persons involved in the migrations, of whom nearly 55 per cent moved from one rural parish to another, and slightly

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more than 20 per cent from rural areas to towns and cities. There were slightly more females than males; nearly 48 per cent were between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four. Towns and cities, it is interesting to note, had considerable pulling power even before the advent of large-scale industry and trade. Uusimaa's town dwellers increased from 10.1 per cent of the population in 1820 to 23.2 per cent in 1880; during the same interval Helsinki swelled from 8,000 to 38,000 inhabitants. Large numbers of Finns also emigrated to Viipuri, St. Petersburg, and, of course, to America. The internal and overseas migrations were closely linked, but unfortunately Rosenberg does not say much about this relationship. A German-language summary, designed for foreign readers, attempts to set the statistical data in a larger and more meaningful frame of reference; Finnish readers, no doubt, could have profited from a penetrating and synthesizing summary.

Heidelberg College JOHN I. KOLEHMAINEN

ADMIRAL HENRI KONOWS ERINDRINGER. Volume I, MARINE- OG HOFTJENESTE 1877–1914. By *Tage Kaarsted*. [Skrifter udgivet af Jysk Selskab for Historie, Number 16.] (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget. 1966. Pp. 384.)

THIS autobiography of a Danish admiral, not recommendable as literature, provides a wealth of information on a wide range of historical persons and events. Konow was a professional navy man whose career stretched from the 1870's to the 1920's; his useful observations on the training, command, equipment, personnel, and other matters nautical of his times are, however, only the vital skeleton of his book. Fortunate, already as a young man, to be appointed "Governor" (really tutor) to Prince Carl of Denmark (the later Haakon VII of Norway), Konow throughout his subsequent career witnessed and participated in the comings and goings of tsars, emperors, kings, and princes both in Denmark and abroad. His comments upon persons both high and low are always colored by his deeply conservative social and political orientation, but they are fresh and honest and more characteristic of an intelligent sailor than of a courtier. Later in his career Konow, the last Danish governor of the Virgin Islands, was to protest furiously at the abandonment of the colonies without knowing the full story of US pressure. Later yet he entered politics to combat the destruction of the Danish Navy by Social Democrats and other advocates of disarmament. This first volume of the autobiography takes his story only to 1914. Already by then, however, he had "been around": from service with the French Navy in East Asia, through native uprisings and volcanic eruptions in the West Indies, to fisheries in the Kattegat, all intertwined with coronations, royal funerals, royal cruises, visits, table talk, and so forth.

Ably edited by Kaarsted to eliminate routine travelogue-type material, the book deserves the attention even of historians who do not read Danish or distinguish readily between mizzen topgallants and main royals.

California Institute of Technology HEINZ E. ELLERSIECK

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DIE KAMPFHANDLUNGEN DER BRANDENBURGISCH-PREUSSISCHEN ARMEE, 1626–1807: EIN QUELLENHANDBUCH. Compiled and explained by *Günther Gieraths*. [Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin beim Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut der Freien Universität Berlin, Number 8. Quellenwerke, Number 3.] (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1964. Pp. xx, 633. DM 160.)

CALENDARS of battles and engagements fought by the Prussian Army were published as early as the second half of the eighteenth century, usually in conjunction with brief accounts of the participating units and lists of officers serving in them. By vastly expanding on these early models, Dr. Gieraths has produced a valuable aid to historical research. His work lists all but the most insignificant skirmishes fought by more than two hundred formations between the Thirty Years' War and 1807, the exact location of each encounter, and its outcome. In addition, the book presents the following information on each unit: the names of its commanding officers, the towns in which it was quartered throughout its existence, a summary of the unit's history, and a paragraph on the relevant unpublished and printed sources. The importance of the book is increased by the fact that during his preliminary investigations the author had access to documents in the German Army archives that were destroyed toward the end of the Second World War.

Material of such narrowly military cast may seem to bear only on campaign history, but in fact it also helps clarify the sociology, economy, and administration of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Brandenburg-Prussia. The peacetime garrisoning of a regiment, for instance, which might be distributed among five or six different towns, and its moves over the years, can afford useful insights into such matters as local industry, the elementary school system, and even the degree of influence possessed by a town council. With a few exceptions, Gieraths leaves interpretation to others. His purpose has been to assemble the evidence, and he has gone about it with such knowledge and care that the result is a model reference work, which generations of scholars will consult with profit.

University of California, Davis PETER PARET

DIE JUDENSCHAFT VON KÖNIGSBERG IN PREUSSEN 1700–1812. By *Hans-Jürgen Krüger*. [Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Geschichte und Landeskunde Ost-Mitteleuropas, Number 76.] (Marburg: [Johann-Gottfried-Herder-Institut.] 1966. Pp. 142. DM 12.)

RECONSTRUCTION of the early history of a Jewish community in eastern Germany is of necessity beset with particular difficulties. What sources might still have been extant in 1938, *Kristallnacht* and World War II are likely to have destroyed. It is remarkable, therefore, that enough has survived of the records dealing with Königsberg Jewry in the eighteenth century to make possible this modest but informative monograph. Since the municipal archives have been lost, and the Jewish communal archives (now in Israel) date only from 1811, the author's major source is the archives of the *Etatsministerium Königsberg*, now at Göt-

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tingen. The author has used these records with some ingenuity, and a fairly comprehensive picture of the juridical status, economic life, and to some extent cultural evolution of this small but active community emerges.

Up to a point the story is representative of that of German Jewry as a whole: the development from individual *Schutzjuden,* protected, on grounds of economic utility, by the monarchy against a hostile municipality to the fully emancipated citizens of 1812, from itinerant and despised peddlers to respectable merchants and doctors, from a caftan-wearing, Yiddish-speaking Orthodoxy to enlightenment and rapid assimilation. The special feature of Königsberg Jewry, apart from its close proximity to Poland where most of its families had originated, lies in the first appearance there, in the 1780's, of a remarkable group of "Jewish Kantians," who combined Jewish and general learning and whose journal *Ha-Meassef* (The Collector) was the organ of the "Biurist" school of Jewish Bible criticism founded by Moses Mendelssohn. But the intellectual life of Königsberg's Jews is unfortunately of less interest to the author than is the record of tax payments and *Schutzbriefe* that remind us of the bitter Jewish struggle for economic and political security.

Washington University SOLON BEINFELD

YORCK AND THE ERA OF PRUSSIAN REFORM, 1807–1815. By *Peter Paret.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1966. Pp. vii, 309. $8.50.)

THIS important book gives both less and more than the title suggests. The author's concern "lies less with the man than with his times, and less with his times than with the course taken by military innovation from the age of Frederick to the defeat of Napoleon." Paret has not attempted to write a general biography of Yorck to supersede Droysen's (1851), though he does seek to overthrow the traditional stereotype of Yorck as the incarnation of Frederickian Prussia and the enemy of reform. Most of his work is devoted to a searching examination of changes in Prussian infantry tactics and organization during the years 1799–1812. The analysis relies heavily upon printed service manuals, but it also uses much unprinted material derived from the Scharnhorst *Nachlass* in Freiburg, the Vaupel collection in Koblenz (assembled in the late 1930's for an uncompleted source publication on the army reforms), and interesting Dutch materials relating to Yorck's early life.

Paret shows for the first time that Yorck, far from being an unmitigated reactionary, actually played an important role in Prussian military reforms. He was open-minded as he approached the transition from the old "close-order" linear to the new "open-order" columnar and skirmishing tactics, and he saw the need to improve the condition of the rank and file. To have shown this much is Paret's important contribution; his further argument, that Yorck was not really reactionary in his general outlook, is unconvincing to me. The author ascribes Yorck's furious hostility to Stein and the reform party in 1808 to frustrated ambition at being excluded from a central direction of affairs; however true, there is also ample evidence that Yorck was hostile to much of the substance of the Prussian reform program. He opposed emancipating the peasants, introducing

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Smithian principles of laissez faire, and opening officer positions to the merit system. The best explanation for Yorck's newly discovered "progressiveness" in parts of the military field appears to be his "technocratic" outlook and professional intelligence, two qualities quite compatible with a generally reactionary *Weltanschauung*.

The most impressive part of Paret's book is the searching discussion of the evolution of infantry tactics. He adds to our knowledge of Prussia's success in integrating the new tactics with the old, a process justified on the battlefield in 1813. The author's references to French, Austrian, Russian, and English practices show the comparative historical method at its best. The book also pioneers in demonstrating that the new skirmishing tactics were originally rooted in technical military developments prior to the French Revolution, and they were only re-enforced—not created—by the moral and political forces unleashed by the Jacobin mass mobilization.

Paret's work supersedes the earlier studies of Reinhard Höhn (1944) and W. O. Shanahan (1944) in its mastery of military problems and its ability to relate these to larger political and social questions. In my opinion it is clearly the best book yet written on Prussia's military reforms despite a certain disorganization resulting from the attempt to write two books at once. The eighteenth century would have titled them "Some Revisions in the Traditional Picture of Yorck, with Special Reference to His Constructive Role in Prussia's Military Reforms," and "The Evolution of Prussian Infantry Tactics during the Napoleonic Period, with Special Reference to the Problem of Continuity within the General Framework of European History." The second provides a standard monograph; the first offers a challenging new interpretation.

Brown University KLAUS EPSTEIN

THE OUTLAWED PARTY: SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY, 1878–1890. By *Vernon L. Lidtke*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1966. Pp. vii, 374. $10.00.)

EARLY historians of German Social Democracy depicted the period of the Anti-Socialist Law as a "heroic epoch" in which the party met Bismarck's persecution by rejecting collaborationist Lassalleanism in favor of revolutionary Marxism. Using fresh sources and a legend-free approach, Vernon Lidtke re-examines the influence of the illegal years upon the Social Democrats' attitude toward democracy, parliamentarism, and revolution. The most valuable of his new material is the largely unpublished correspondence of several party leaders. Beginning with the dual heritage of German socialism, Lidtke shows (contrary to cold war distortions) that the Eisenachers were much better democrats than the Lassalleans, but also that the factional alignments issuing from his period had little relation to this older division. Despite persecution the party's mass support grew inexorably and gave it a parliamentary influence that could be used to support piecemeal reform; one of Lidtke's major contributions is to reveal the surprising extent of such positive legislative activities. These efforts encouraged the growth of a moderate faction (Auer, Blos, eventually Bernstein) which wholeheartedly em-

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braced parliamentarism and became the core of the post-1890 reformist wing of Social Democracy. But even the dominant "orthodox" Marxists (Bebel, Liebknecht, and Kautsky) did not develop an outright revolutionary position but rather what Lidtke calls an "ambivalent parliamentarism." Theoretically they took part in elections only to gauge their strength and in Parliament only for agitational purposes. In practice they could not altogether resist presenting reform legislation, collaborating with other parties, and so forth. The result was ambivalence, and, worse, a kind of wait-and-see passivity that neither prepared for revolution nor took maximum advantage of Parliament.

Lidtke has written an important book. Clear and perceptive, it untangles many confusions of factional history and illuminates the law-abiding strategy that, paradoxically, emerged from illegality. My only quarrel is that he exaggerates the inconsistency in Bebel's policy. Believing that the capitalist system, by the time of its collapse, would have produced an immense majority of proletarians, the democratic-minded Bebel saw no need of conspiratorial preparations or vanguard parties. It was enough to recruit and educate the masses for the day when the majority would take power, peacefully if possible, violently if the old elite resisted. In the meantime the *Reichstag* might be used for legislative purposes so long as one did not foster illusions as to its real power. This strategy was plausible enough, granted its assumptions. Its failure derives not from any gross inconsistency between theory and practice, but from the failure of the capitalist system either to produce an immense proletarian majority or to collapse on schedule.

University of Pittsburgh RICHARD N. HUNT

DIE DEUTSCHEN OSTGEBIETE ZUR ZEIT DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK. [Studien zum Deutschtum im Osten, Number 3.] (Köln Graz: Böhlau Verlag. 1966. Pp. 232. DM 22.)

THESE lectures, delivered at the University of Bonn in 1963–1964, deal with the political (domestic and international), cultural, and economic problems of the areas of pre-1918 eastern Germany during the early years (1919–1922) of the Weimar Republic, with special attention to the results of the penetrating postwar boundary changes. The areas covered are East Prussia, the Memel Territory, Free City of Danzig, Posen (Poznań) and Pomerelia, Pomerania, and Silesia. The authors appear conscious of the fact that they could discuss only part of the relevant questions and their ramifications. They do it with an apparent desire to inform today's German university youth of the historical experience of an earlier generation, without pathos and in a spirit of restrained patriotism, with general respect for the facts and a rich variety of information, considering the few pages at their disposal. While only one chapter is documented, each one offers a carefully selected bibliography, including a substantial number of Polish and other non-German (some American) monographs and collections of documents. The authors are identified only by name—E. Hoelzle, K. Forstreuter, W. Hubatsch, H. Jablonowski, G. Rhode, H. Branig, E. Birke, N. Niehaus, and R. Oldewage—but four are known as previous authors on their respective subjects.

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The authors have achieved their limited purpose of summarizing the problems and questions indicated above, with special reference to the history, status, and development of Germanism (*Deutschtum*) during this period. They present no special new insights or previously unknown major facts, but they do offer to the American student of German history a survey of interesting and worthwhile information and some additional understanding of the problems of decision makers at peace conferences who find themselves in a whirlpool of conflicting and confusing national aims and statistical data subject to varied interpretation.

California State College, Fullerton JOHN BROWN MASON

MILITÄRISCHE KOMMANDOGEWALT UND PARLAMENTARISCHE DEMOKRATIE: ZUM PROBLEM DER VERANTWORTLICHKEIT DES REICHSWEHRMINISTERS IN DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK. By *Jürgen Schmädeke*. [Historische Studien, Number 398.] (Lübeck: Matthiesen Verlag. 1966. Pp. 216. DM 24.50.)

THAT the army was a state within the state during the brief life of the Weimar Republic is well known and has been much discussed, but how it actually became so and what legal and administrative arrangements permitted it to escape effective parliamentary restraint are questions that have received less attention from historians. Jürgen Schmädeke has remedied this situation with an original and admirably documented study that not only provides a thorough analysis of the military aspects of the Weimar Constitution, but, in a manner something like that employed by H. O. Meisner in his study of the Prussian War Minister, emphasizes the role and problems of the republican Ministers of Defense, their relations with Parliament on the one hand and the military chiefs on the other, and their individual contributions to the defeat of the democratic principle in military affairs.

Of the *Reichswehr* Ministers studied here, the often maligned Gustav Noske appears in the most admirable light, for he not only believed in civilian supremacy, but was strong enough to enforce it. It was he, supported by the last Prussian War Minister, General Walther Reinhardt, who at the very outset of the republic defeated a General Staff scheme for carrying the untrammeled command system of the imperial era over into the new system; and, largely because of his determined stance, "for the first time in the history of the Prussian-German army the military establishment stood under the control of a civilian minister, unrestricted by any special power of command exercised by the chief of state or any intermediate agencies."

Whether Noske would have been able to maintain this position against the tireless intrigues of General Hans von Seeckt, who opposed what he considered to be ministerial meddling in matters that should properly be decided by soldiers, it is impossible to say. In any case, the Kapp *Putsch* served Seeckt's cause by destroying Noske's credit with his own party and forcing him from office, an event from which the cause of civilian control never recovered. Noske's successors were guided by principles different from his own. Otto Gessler was at heart a monarchist with such serious misgivings about the virtues of parliamentary

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government that he never fought hard for the protection of the *Reichstag*'s military prerogatives. When he was Minister, he ceded effective control of the military establishment to the energetic chief of army command, Seeckt, restricting his own activities to matters of administrative detail. When Gessler was replaced by Groener in 1928, this situation was corrected and the chief's role reduced, but this re-establishment of the *Reichswehr* Minister's authority did not work to the advantage of the *Reichstag,* since Groener and his associate Schleicher regarded the Minister as being responsible, not to that body, but to the *Reichspräsident,* a theory that was not without important consequences in the last tragic days of the republic.

Not the least interesting aspect of this thorough study is the author's demonstration that the failure of civilian control was due as much to the incompetence of the democratic parties and of Parliament as a body as it was to the resistance of the military. In the republic's first months, and particularly during the sessions of the National Assembly, the parliamentarians paid wholly inadequate attention to basic legislation affecting the role and competence of military agencies, and mistakes were made then that could not be corrected later. Even more important was the fact that during the crucial Noske period, when "the gradual development of the *Reichswehr* into a loyal instrument of the new state at least entered the realm of the possible," there was little understanding in Parliament of the significance of Noske's work. The lack of effective collaboration between the Defense Minister and the Parliament to which he was supposed to be responsible was one of the most important of the factors that encouraged military irresponsibility during the first republican era.

Stanford University GORDON A. CRAIG

DIE MACHTERGREIFUNG DER NSDAP IN BREMEN 1933. By *Herbert Schwarzwälder.* [Bremer Veröffentlichungen zur Zeitgeschichte, Number 1.] (Bremen: Carl Schünemann Verlag. 1966. Pp. 158.)

PROFESSOR Schwarzwälder's detailed account of the Nazi seizure of power in the free city-state of Bremen in March 1933 is both an important and a disappointing work. On the one hand, as a case study of the *Machtergreifung* based upon hitherto untapped archival sources, it adds significantly to our knowledge of the beginnings of the Third *Reich.* At the same time it is disappointing, largely because of the manner in which the author approaches the subject.

The study is the first volume in a series issued under the auspices of the Bremen senator for education. One purpose of the series, clearly, is to make an official contribution toward helping the present generation of students digest Germany's still undigested past. The aim is laudable; it may well be, moreover, that the monographic approach is pedagogically more fruitful than the well-edited documentary collections that have appeared as part of a similar effort in Hamburg. No doubt German students born after 1945 can relate more easily to a history of the *Machtergreifung* in their city than to a set of contemporary documents. For the historian, however, the result is less satisfactory. The over-all picture of the early stages of Nazi totalitarianism that emerges from Schwarz-

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wälder's study is not free of some rather serious distortions. The factual account of the political take-over is correct, but the "spirit" of totalitarianism is missing. To be sure, some aspects of the book are excellent. The account of the negotiations between the old Senate and the new *Reich* Minister of Interior are permeated with a sense of the senators' tragic lack of awareness of Frick's real aims. There are also some effective characterizations of the main actors in the drama.

But what emerges in the final analysis is less the beginning of a totalitarian society than a Bremen version of Papen's Prussian *coup* eight months earlier. This was certainly not the author's intention, but by explaining the take-over almost solely in terms of violations of *rechtsstaatliche* norms familiar to present readers, the revolutionary aspects of the *Machtergreifung* remain in the background. More specifically, the role of the NSDAP both as a party and as a collection of totalized officials and groups is not clearly apparent, and without it the *Machtergreifung* emerges as the return of authoritarianism in Germany, rather than as the beginning of totalitarianism, which it was.

Syracuse University DIETRICH ORLOW

KAISER FRANZ JOSEPH. By *Egon Caesar Conte Corti* and *Hans Sokol*. (2d ed.; Graz: Verlag Styria. 1965. Pp. xv, 462.)

CONDENSATION, as every writer of history is aware—frequently painfully aware—is a special and exacting challenge. This biography is an abridgment of a trilogy, occupying over thirteen hundred pages, that appeared between 1951 and 1955. It was compressed to a third of the original length by Hans Sokol, the sharpest cut being made in the exposition of the childhood and youth of Franz Joseph, and the least reduction being effected in the life "and times" of the Emperor-King from the Berlin Congress to his death.

Like other portraitists of this many-faceted personality, the late Count Corti, who was principally responsible for the trilogy, lived too close to his subject, in time and place, to escape obvious handicaps. An acknowledged master in writing biographies in a popular style, he shows more liking for the Habsburg sovereign, is much less searching than was Josef Redlich, for example, in his well-known biography. The authors have a keen eye for the dramatic in a lengthy career that was studded with drama, both household and public. Not much that is new appears on these pages, and that little has small meaning. Apart from printed documentary literature, published letters, diaries, and memoirs, and a selection of standard works of relevance in the German language, access has been had to a considerable amount of archival material in private possession.

Franz Joseph undoubtedly would have deserved well of his diversified peoples and indeed of the wider world if he had laid down his scepter at seventy, or even earlier. Not that he was senile, but he could not readjust his thinking to the powerful surge of nationalism and the gathering pressure for government by discussion and consensus that had crowded upward since his accession to the throne amidst the mid-nineteenth-century upheavals. Whereas Theodore Roosevelt biliously described the aged monarch as "a Viennese Christmas-tree jumping

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jack," Corti and Sokol close both versions of their study with ". . . Er war bis zu seinem letzten Atemzuge wahrhaftig ein Herrscher von Gottes Gnaden."

For the beginning student this clear and smooth-flowing narrative will serve as a pleasant introduction. More advanced workers will wish to refer to the three volumes, but neither is of sufficient importance to call for translation.

University of Rochester ARTHUR J. MAY

KAISERHAUS, STAATSMÄNNER UND POLITIKER: AUFZEICHNUNGEN. By *Erich Graf Kielmansegg.* With an introduction by *Walter Goldinger.* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag. 1966. Pp. 430. DM 34.)

KIELMANSEGG, born a Hanoverian and a Protestant, moved to Vienna after the war of 1866 to complete his legal training. Joining the Austrian bureaucracy in 1870, he learned much from Adolf Auersperg and Eduard Taaffe and served as governor of Lower Austria between 1889 and 1911. In 1895 he acted as an interim Minister-President for Franz Joseph, but it was his position as governor that provided him with his sharp and often brutal insights into the actions of the leading personalities of the Empire's last years. Walter Goldinger provides an excellent introduction for these memoirs, which the author composed in the form of character studies without benefit of diaries or extended correspondence.

When Kielmansegg describes men and events he personally was acquainted with, he is a valuable though always committed witness. When he writes of Frau Schratt and Franz Ferdinand's consort, he does not rise above the usual gossip. Material that illuminates the careers of the Emperor's advisers between 1871 and 1911 is rare, and these sketches consequently are most welcome. Auersperg emerges as much more of a leader than his contemporaries believed him to be, while Kielmansegg admired Taaffe for his political finesse and his refusal to yield to *Protection,* the custom of paying political debts with appointments, decorations, and preferments.

Thereafter, there are few heroes. Gautsch is pictured as the perennial climber, vain beyond belief. Franz Thun was an incompetent who crawled to win Franz Ferdinand's smile. Bienerth was indolent as Minister-President and "corrupt" as the author's successor as governor of Lower Austria. Badeni, Bacquehem, and Koerber do not fare much better.

Unfortunately Kielmansegg tells little of his connection with police activities during the Taaffe cabinet's campaign against radicalism. His statements on the Badeni crisis and the coming of electoral reform in 1905–1906 are similarly terse, despite his privileged position in the midst of such developments. One of his best sketches is that of Lueger, whom he liked. Again, though Lueger was frank about his troubles with other Christian Social politicians, Kielmansegg reveals next to nothing of these confidences. In short, this is a tantalizing and sometimes shocking commentary. It is hoped that it will pry open a few family archives in still-sensitive Vienna.

Washington and Lee University WILLIAM A. JENKS

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L'ANTICURIALISMO NAPOLETANO SOTTO CARLO III. By *Andrea Melpignano, S.J.* [Aloisiana, Number 4.] (Rome: Herder. 1965. Pp. 264.)

THROUGHOUT the eighteenth century the age-old conflict between church and state acquired a renewed intensity as monarchs strove to establish absolute authority within their realms. Particularly in Catholic countries the remnants of medieval clerical privileges and church autonomy posed serious challenges. Allies of the monarchs in this struggle were the intelligentsia who, influenced by the new trends of thought, saw in the Church an obstacle to the progress and modernization of society.

In Naples, which in 1735, after almost two hundred years of subjection to Spanish viceroys, once again acquired dignity and status as an independent kingdom under Charles III, son of Philip V of Spain and the ambitious Elizabeth Farnese, the position and prestige of the Church had deeper roots than elsewhere. These roots went back to the eleventh century. In 1059 Robert Guiscard, to gain recognition for his conquests of Apulia and Calabria, had sworn fealty to Pope Nicholas II thereby establishing papal suzerainty over southern Italy. This suzerainty had been "a custom more honored in the breach than the observance," but because of it the Church and its members enjoyed economic and legal privileges that placed them beyond the king's authority.

Toward the end of the seventeenth century an anticurial party emerged, and from its members flowed pamphlets and books attacking the Church. In 1723 Pietro Giannone's *Istoria Civile,* the most fundamental and documented indictment of ecclesiastical power, appeared.

The presence of a young energetic monarch eager to be master in his own realm initiated the long struggle to whittle away ecclesiastical immunities. Public opinion among intellectuals, ready to move from theory to action, supported the King. The concordat of 1741 somewhat limited the Church's authority, but solved none of the basic issues. If anything, the quarrel became even more bitter after it. In 1759 Charles III left Naples to succeed his brother on the Spanish throne, and the struggle was continued by the able Prime Minister, Tanucci.

Father Melpignano's book, which concentrates on the reign of Charles III (1735–1759), utilizes not only most of the previous literature on the question, but also makes use of sources in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, in the Spanish Archives at Simancas, in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Madrid, and in the library of the *Società di Storia Patria* of Naples. He attempts to present a fair and impartial study of the issues involved, but his bias, as a member of an order suppressed in 1773, comes through in passages such as these: "We [the Church] . . . do not admit that ecclesiastical immunities . . . derive formally from a divine law, but we consider them rooted in divine law. . . . The Church, a perfect society, established [them] by its authority without in any way violating the sovereignty of the State. Today we know, that, though [the Church] retains [its] *right* [italics mine] to them, it no longer insists strictly on certain privileges." *Caveat lector!*

Simmons College EMILIANA P. NOETHER

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ITALIAN ARCHITECTURE, 1750–1914. By *Carroll L. V. Meeks*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1966. Pp. xxviii, 546. $25.00.)

Professor Meeks refers to his huge but original and, from all appearances, definitive work as "an essay in the art of architecture as it appears to have been conceived and followed in Italy from 1750 to 1914, organized by the examination of its theory and its significant episodes." It would be not merely difficult but pretentious for a nonspecialist in art history, laboring under restrictions that transcend those of space, to seek to analyze how the volume develops the major themes stated by its author. Professional art critics and historians writing for specialized journals will undoubtedly do ampler justice than is here possible to the vast panorama, the rich iconographic materials, and the well-nigh perfect documentary and bibliographical apparatus that Meeks spreads before our eyes. The humbler student of European and Italian history, even as he stands in fascination and gratitude before so marvelous a work of critical scholarship, is almost immediately forced to recast his perspective upon the subtle interplay of social and spiritual history and then to seek a new orientation amid the complex multiplicity of successive artistic expression from the Enlightenment to the close of the liberal era.

Architecture, unlike the other plastic and visual arts, is an inescapable as well as "artificial" new dimension by which the artistic imagination multiplies and therefore truly transforms the organic context of a given natural landscape. A monument, palace, temple, cathedral, theater, villa, garden, piazza, even a cemetery, are not born, but created, and they are created according to a cultural style that exemplifies in concrete forms the dialectic between artistic genius and historic ethos. Architectural exemplars may be significant "incidents" of social history or revolutionary "episodes" of aesthetic history. The genuine art critic and historian must adopt some standard to distinguish the ones from the others. Meeks offers from the start an unfailing guide toward the isolation of a new style of art, which, in a larger sense, crucially illuminates the nature of cultural style. The birth of a new style, he tells us, requires the happy but rare conjunction of four factors: a new intellectual view of the world, a new aesthetic doctrine, a new idiom of form, and a new structural system. Though he does not phrase it in this way, it seems that Meeks posits such a conjunction only as a model, as an "ideal type," of artistic creativity. His study tends to reveal that perhaps none of the successive moments of architectural expression after Palladio responded, either in Europe or in Italy, to so "happy" a conjunction of four fundamental elements. Meeks, therefore, takes us both descriptively and iconographically upon a journey through varieties of approximations to the "ideal type." The pursuit of a new style as "ideal type" acts, in fact, as a test of the limits but also as a measure of the actual achievements of each architectural period. Neither artificially objective standards nor undisciplined subjectivism are adopted toward the reconstruction of "the ideas, feelings, and moods which the architects were attempting to express through their formal, derivative, and eclectic vocabularies, by their use of masses, volumes, planes, and ornaments." Inequality of values must rule critical judgment. Perhaps unlike the other arts, in architecture benevolent attitudes toward "self-expression for its own sake" must be mercilessly

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avoided. For it is rather the "whole range of expression through character, images and symbols" that form "an intelligible system of communication from artist to public, which we must attempt to read again."

Throughout his book, both in theory and in practice, Meeks offers what, to me, at least, appears to be an acute and modern reformulation, a truly fertile, critical variant of "classic" historicism as applied to the study of artistic styles. Such critical historicism obviously repudiates the anarchy of values implicit in giving status of validity to mere forms of "self-expression for its own sake" just as it eschews that opposing idol of the mind constituted by faith in the absolute values commonly ascribed to eternally "classic" styles of art and culture. No other norm would perhaps have proved as felicitous as the critical historicism adopted by Meeks to allow him to do justice, if not equal homage, to the successive "episodes" of Italian and European styles of architecture that ranged from the pluralistic "romantic neoclassicism" of the late eighteenth century to the scenographic eclecticism of the late nineteenth century. The Italian varieties of these styles were manifested, above all, in Piranesi's "hallucinatory romanticism," Valadier's neoclassical restorations, and Camillo Boito's "medieval-nationalism" of the *Risorgimento* "revival" period and then, during the second half of the nineteenth century, especially in Gaetano Koch's urbanistic *cinquecentismo* and in those Roman archetypal *Stile Umberto* masses of marble layered in Sacconi's *Vittoriano* and in Calderini's *Palazzaccio,* which must share the honors as the most ponderous monuments "to the self-confident assurance of the bourgeois world of late nineteenth-century Italy." After the turn of the century the simplifying innovations of the futurists began breaking through the involuted refinements of *fin-de-siècle Stile Floreale,* laying the foundations, if only across still another generation of mimetic (this time, Fascist) cryptoneoclassicism, for the fruition of contemporary Italian functionalism.

Rare is the book that can be read as a work of history, enjoyed as a work of art, and admired as a labor of creative intellectual love. On such an occasion I cannot but be grateful for the editorial "tyranny" that finds justification in restrictions of space. For once, at least, that "tyranny" turns out to be akin to a stroke of benevolent despotism if not a real blessing in disguise. For deserved genuine praise should always be laconic rather than effusive, unqualified rather than reserved, open and direct rather than apologetic and equivocating. Meeks's munificent study of Italian architectural styles is eminently deserving of just such praise.

University of Rochester A. William Salomone

EPISTOLARIO (1859–1860). By *Francesco De Sanctis*. Edited by *Giuseppe Talamo*. [Opere, Volume XX.] ([Turin:] Giulio Einaudi Editore. 1965. Pp. lix, 353. L. 3,500.)

This third volume of the letters of De Sanctis includes 202 items, part of them from his "Zurich period" of exile. After August 1860 and the successful events in the unification process in that year, he wrote mainly from his birthplace, Avellino. The recipients and respondents are familiar figures from previous

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volumes. The largest single correspondence is with his former student, Angelo Camillo De Meis. Others with several communications are Diomede Marvasi, Pasquale Villari, Vittorio Imbriani, and Francesco Pepere.

The letters vary in content, although the major preoccupation is with Italy's pursuit of independence and unity. Some are richly personal and nostalgic as one to his cousin, Giovanni De Sanctis, recalling each of the family and the sunshine of his native land. More typical of his chief interest was one to De Meis in April 1859 on the occasion of the illness of Ferdinand II, reflecting hope for what could be and despair for what would probably happen. "Oh if Naples would take the hand of Piedmont," he wrote, "it would be the first time in history we would be able to say: out with the foreigner! without having to speak the name of another foreigner! Then we could truly say: we are one! But that is too beautiful a thing." Among the shortest items is a note from Garibaldi in November 1860 thanking De Sanctis for his support "with so much zeal and activity in the difficult period of my rule."

The introduction by Giuseppe Talamo is an excellent discussion of De Sanctis' attitudes toward the leading figures of the *Risorgimento*. It makes quite clear his lack of enthusiasm for Mazzini and his tendency to admire the practical politics of Cavour and of Piedmont. Talamo quotes Salvemini on De Sanctis that "he comprehended neither Mazzinian theocracy nor democracy; it was a theory so alien to his spirit that he did not understand it, he who understood everything." The student of Italian history who reads this volume will feel closer to the figures of unification of whom we hear less than the famous political and military leaders. It is a book for the specialist because so many names and events referred to will be known only to him.

Wisconsin State University, La Crosse GEORGE R. GILKEY

IL GIORNALISMO ITALIANO DAL 1861 AL 1870 (DAGLI ATTI DEL 5° CONGRESSO DELL'ISTITUTO NAZIONALE PER LA STORIA DEL GIORNALISMO). TORINO, 20–23 OTTOBRE 1966. [Associazione Stampa Subalpina.] ([Turin:] Edizioni 45° Parallelo. n.d. Pp. xxvii, 264.)

RECENT publications devoted to Italian journalism have consisted of biographies of prominent journalists, monographic studies of newspapers of national significance, or of reprints, such as those by the G. G. Feltrinelli Institute, of major political organs. For a history of Italian journalism the student must still turn to Adolf Dresler's three-volume *Geschichte der italienischen Presse* (1934).

Dresler's work, which surveys the years from the Enlightenment to Fascism, was not so much a history of journalism as it was a chronological guide to titles, dates of publication, and names of contributors. It remains in this respect a useful index. But where Dresler, an admirer of Mussolini and later chief of the Press Bureau of the NSDAP, turned from indexing to historical analysis in his discussion of the Italian press in the Giolittian and Fascist decades, what resulted was his own political philosophy.

What is still needed, therefore, is a scholarly work on the development of the Italian press in the recent modern period. The *Istituto Nazionale per la Storia del*

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Giornalismo hopes to fill this need. Publication of the papers delivered at its annual meetings is to serve as the basis for a projected multivolumed history of Italian journalism.

The present volume suffers from its concentration on journals of northern and central Italy. Of the thirty-two papers included, only one, Alfio Carrà's study of the labor press of eastern Sicily, moves south of Florence for its materials. The papers also tend to be summaries of lead articles rather than examinations of topics covered in the local press within the larger context of national and European events.

Notable exceptions are the articles of Valerio Castronovo, Aldo Mola, and Emilio Papa on the press in Piedmont; Glauco Licata's succinct and intelligent treatment of the clerical press throughout Italy; and the articles of Raimondo Luraghi and Laura Celesti on the reaction of papers in Turin and Genoa to the American Civil War where waning of moderate support for the Union cause is explained, in part, as a reaction to contemporary Italian issues. Also to be noted is Diego de Castro's statistical analysis of changes in reader interest between 1868 and 1965 as revealed by the space devoted to the same topics in the *Gazzetta Piemontese* and *La Stampa*. The volume includes illustrations.

University of Minnesota JOHN THAYER

ITALIAN PUBLIC ENTERPRISE. By *M. V. Posner* and *S. J. Woolf*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 160. $5.50.)

SINCE the authors of this work use the relationship between public enterprise and national economic growth merely "as a useful peg on which to hang our study," what they really provide is a survey of Italian economic policy from 1945 to 1963, with particular reference to the years 1961–1962. They deal with such baffling phenomena as the persistence of a "dual economy" within the same economic framework, the ambiguities of a "mixed economy" in which it is impossible to draw a clear line between public and private enterprise, the inconsistencies of public planning agencies which in practice plan rather haphazardly, and the riddle of how part of the profits of public concerns is diverted into private hands. It is clear from this study that, in spite of such obstacles, the achievements of the public sector are impressive.

We are given both a description of the mechanics of the public sector and an evaluation of its over-all performance. In so far as the authors make the labyrinthine complexities of public enterprise generally intelligible, they perform a truly worthwhile service. They differentiate between the various types of public holdings, describe the operations of IRI and ENI, the two major industrial groupings, and analyze in considerable detail the fuzzy relationship between all these bureaus and the public administration. If the explanations are occasionally less than clear, the fault lies in the nature of the subject rather than in any lack of attention on the authors' part.

As an evaluation of the performance of the public sector within the national economy, the study is rather more suggestive than conclusive. It should be read

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in conjunction with the provocative analysis by Vera Lutz, *Italy: A Study in Economic Development* (1962), which suggested that official efforts to reduce unemployment and promote industrialization by governmental action had brought about a misallocation of scarce economic resources. The authors of the present study are bent on vindicating the performance of public enterprise in Italy; they are also critical of the widespread reluctance among Italian public officials to offend private industry. The awareness that the operations of public enterprises cannot be evaluated by the criteria of visible economic profits by which we judge private firms permeates the entire study. Thus, the government's "unprofitable" investments in the south are justified as steps necessary to develop adequate economic infrastructures and to minimize the adverse social repercussions of excessive male migration from that region.

Debate, however, centers on the narrow issue of the efficiency of public versus private investment, and, on this limited score, the authors unfortunately cannot provide convincing answers. Since public concerns have been as reluctant to publish data on their pricing, profit, and investment policies as their counterparts in the private sector, any attempt to turn a qualitative into a quantitative discussion at this time is bound to fail. This failure is evident here in spite of the otherwise useful tables that supplement the text.

University of Massachusetts ROLAND SARTI

ATLAS ČESKOSLOVENSKÝCH DĚJIN [Atlas of Czechoslovak History]. *Jaroslav Purš,* Editor in Chief. [Vydala Ústřední Správa Geodézie a Kartografie ve Spolupráci s Historickým Ústavem ČSAV.] (Prague: Ústřední Správa Geodézie a Kartografie. 1965. Pp. 238. Kčs. 195.)

PUBLICATION of this volume transcends in significance the use to which it will undoubtedly be put by historians of Central and Eastern Europe. It marks the fruit of many years of cooperation among Czechoslovak scholars from varied disciplines directed toward producing a comprehensive historical atlas that would incorporate the latest evidence from archaeology, demography, and economic history along with the political features common to such works. Actual preparation of the atlas commenced in 1960 with the signing of a cooperative agreement between the Central Office of Geodesy and Cartography and the Historical Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and the establishment of an editorial board headed by the noted historian of technology Jaroslav Purš.

The atlas includes over 450 maps, charts, and diagrams. There are four broad chronological-topical sections. The first presents the results of archaeological research on Czechoslovak soil, the earliest political formations, the Great Moravian Empire, the high tide of feudalism, the Hussite movement, and the aftermath until 1526. The second shows the revival of feudalism in the sixteenth century, the Battle of White Mountain and the Thirty Years' War, social and economic conditions through the eighteenth century, and the stirrings of the national revival in the nineteenth. The revolutions of 1848–1849 open a third section that carries developments up to the First World War. Maps of varying scales and sizes represent the agricultural and industrial transformations of the later nine-

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teenth century, the rise of the working-class movement, and educational and cultural trends. The final and largest section shows the breakup of the Habsburg Empire, the structure of the Czechoslovak Republic, economic and social developments between the wars, dismemberment of the state after Munich, the Nazi occupation, resistance movements, liberation from both east and west, and population and cultural changes until 1960. The Gregorian calendar is used throughout.

Urban historians will be attracted to numerous maps showing city growth; demographers, to charts of population movement; and military historians, to maps of the battles of the many wars fought in Bohemia and in Europe at large. One learns about the expansion in the use of steam power from 1834 on, the number and growth rate of hospital facilities and physicians relative to population, and the location and frequency of strikes and popular demonstrations since 1848. In view of this cornucopia of information, lucidly and handsomely presented, it is slightly disappointing to note the paucity of material on nationality relations (the schools and the press excepted) in the nineteenth century and the omission of results prior to 1907 of elections to the Austrian Parliament and the territorial diets. Also, while the status of the national minorities under the interwar republic is beautifully detailed, there is nothing on the post-1945 expulsions and migrations.

In addition to an index, there are appended to each map a list of the experts who prepared it, notes on its contents, and a bibliography. Over two hundred scholars drew up the maps and charts; almost as many more reviewed and edited them. The interdisciplinary cooperation required to produce this impressive work will serve Czechoslovak historians well in their current preparation of a new multivolumed synthesis of their national history.

Newark College of Engineering STANLEY B. WINTERS

SERF, SEIGNEUR, AND SOVEREIGN: AGRARIAN REFORM IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BOHEMIA. By *William E. Wright.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1966. Pp. ix, 217. $6.00.)

NONE of the reforms of Joseph II, with the possible exception of the Edict of Tolerance, were of such striking historical significance as the measures taken in the field of agrarian reform. And in none of the Habsburg lands were the consequences as considerable as in the lands of the crown of St. Wenceslas. It is, thus, most welcome that this topic has now become the subject of a well-conceived and well-organized scholarly study.

Professor Wright goes back to the situation of the Bohemian and Moravian peasant in medieval times. He generally accepts the view presented by the younger generation of present Czech historians that the development to serf status belongs, in the main, not to the late fifteenth century but to the Thirty Years' War, though it can hardly be overlooked that already in 1487 the majority of the peasants were effectively tied to the soil. Three chapters are devoted to the era and policy of Maria Theresa, the remaining six to Joseph's ideas and activities and to the successes and failures arising out of them.

In the fall of 1781, Joseph issued a decree abolishing serfdom and the patent

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enabling peasants to purchase land previously worked by them as *robot*. While these decrees did not establish full emancipation, they marked a step forward in this direction. Nor can it be said that Joseph acted, in this phase, precipitously and without proper consideration for the interests of the landowning aristocrats. Wright describes, rightly, Joseph's policy at this stage as the exercise of "what for him was remarkable patience and forbearance." There was, however, still a considerable distance between legislation and the actual implementation of these laws, and not a little of the success depended on the choice of the right people. While Joseph found, in Kaschnitz, an excellent man for the office of special commissioner in Moravia, the more important Bohemian office was put into the hands of the less competent and far more biased J. P. von Hoyer in whom Joseph, for a long time, put an entirely undeserved trust. On the whole Joseph's direction, while mistaken in some details, can be considered as true statesmanship, based on a reasonable mixture of moral and practical considerations. It had considerable influence also upon a later phase in which Bohemia survived without the bloody revolution that was to cost the heads of Joseph's sister Marie Antoinette and her husband. And the peasant's freedom of movement was to contribute much to the relatively early progress, in Bohemia, of the Industrial Revolution.

There is little doubt that in his later policy Joseph acted in a far more dogmatic and less realistic way than in his legislation of 1781. Accordingly the resistance became so strong, even among people who had earlier supported the Emperor, that this part of Joseph's agricultural policy can only be considered as a failure. After grim struggles it was, indeed, eventually rescinded.

Even so, Wright can say, with good reason, at the end of his valuable study: "From the agrarian reforms of the second half of the eighteenth century the Bohemian peasant retained a higher level of economic prosperity and a revived sense of self-respect."

It is perhaps remarkable that Joseph, in spite of all his predilection for centralization and unification of the Habsburg realm, treated the agrarian problems in the lands of the Bohemian crown completely separately from those of other Habsburg lands, especially from the truly Austrian crown lands. It is proof of the institutional strength that the old Bohemian Kingdom maintained even in the time of greatest pressure for unification. It might have been helpful if Wright had given us at least a glance at the developments in other provinces of the Empire. This does not impair our appreciation of this excellent contribution to modern Habsburg, Bohemian, and eighteenth-century economic history.

University of Calgary FREDERICK G. HEYMANN

'Ο ΑΔΑΜΑΝΤΙΟΣ ΚΟΡΑΗΣ ΚΑΙ 'Η 'ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ ΤΩΝ 'ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ [Adamantios Korais and Greek Independence]. By *Ap. V. Daskalakis*. (Athens: n.p. 1965. Pp. 654.)

THE central theme of this voluminous work is that Adamantios Korais, the classical scholar and pioneer of the Greek Enlightenment, devoted his long life (1748–1833) to the cause of the national liberation of Greece, without the slightest deviation or distraction from his goal, and he regarded all his other endeavors and activities as ways and means to his great ideal. His versatile and am-

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bitious (for his time) education in his native Smyrna, his subsequent departure for Amsterdam, his medical studies at Montpellier, his forty-five-year residence in Paris, his political alignment with Napoleon, and his prolific literary and editorial work were motivated by his love for Greece and abhorrence of the Ottoman Turks. He dedicated his whole life to what he believed to be the spiritual needs of the Greek people, and his many-sided activities were intended to prepare the ground for Greece's national rebirth. As an enlightened patriot, Korais believed that education should precede political emancipation; hence, the Greek Revolution of 1821 was, in his opinion, premature. But once violence broke out, he became the chief mentor of the fighting nation, tendering advice and admonitions to the leaders and enlisting support among the intellectuals of Europe and America. His role transcended the limits of the Greek area: in him the Christian Near East found its first exponent of liberalism and nationalism and the West its most effective interpreter. Influenced by the spirit of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, Korais departed from the Byzantine heritage, which, based upon Eastern Orthodoxy and a static view of life, all too often promoted the interests of the Ottoman Empire. Attacking the misguided ecclesiastics, Korais also denounced the regime of Capodistrias (1828–1831) as reactionary. He did not live to see the period of Bavarian autocracy.

Korais was a scholar and an idealist who exerted a potent influence on the framing of the modern Greek mind. His contribution to the development of the Greek language is unquestioned, as is his work in the classical texts that he edited. But he lacked direct knowledge of the harsh actualities of Greece before, during, and after the Revolution; it is significant that after his second departure from Smyrna, in 1782, he never visited any part of the Greek area, not even the part that became the independent state of Greece.

The remarkable career of Korais is presented with rich details, new insights, and understandable sympathy by Professor Daskalakis. This volume is an excellent intellectual biography of the great man, and it also presents an analysis of his writings in the light of contemporary historical developments. A product of indefatigable industry, this book is a genuine contribution to the history of modern Greece.

University of Texas G. G. Arnakis

THE LAST PHASE OF THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE IN WESTERN GREECE (DECEMBER 1827 TO MAY 1829). By *Domna N. Dontas.* [Ἑταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν, Ἵδρυμα Μελετῶν Χερσονήσου τοῦ Ἄϊμου, Number 86.] (Thessalonike: Institute for Balkan Studies. 1966. Pp. xi, 187.)

GREECE AND THE GREAT POWERS, *1863–1875*. By *Domna N. Dontas.* [Ἑταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν, Ἵδρυμα Μελετῶν Χερσονήσου τοῦ Ἄϊμου, Number 87.] (Thessalonike: Institute for Balkan Studies. 1966. Pp. vi, 223.)

In the first of these two studies, Domna Dontas attempts to evaluate the "contribution of the Roumeliot Chieftains under General Church to the liberation of

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Western Roumeli" during the closing period of the Greek War of Independence, December 1827 to May 1829. The rebellion in western Greece had gained momentum following the fall of Mesolóngion on April 24, 1826; the Greek chieftains, Dimo-Tselios and Yannakis Rangos, had inspired this last phase of the war by their daring advances into Western Rumelia and by temporarily capturing Mitika and Dragomesti in Acarnania.

The author attributes Greek successes in western Greece to General Church's leadership and canny diplomatic maneuvering in keeping together the "whiskered ragamuffins," as Stratford Canning described the Greek forces under Church. Church's great merit was "to turn the scales in Western Greece," which subsequently enabled the Greek government to lay claim to Acarnania and Aetolia. Both regions became part of the Greek state by the treaties of May 7 and July 21, 1832, the terms of which extended the frontier from the Gulf of Arta to the Gulf of Volo. This is not surprisingly new information, but what is surprising is the author's contention that Church "was a kindly man" and "had no wish to quarrel." A re-examination of Church's relations with Captain Hastings, the Greek chieftains, and President Capodistrias is necessary to discover Church's rather vain and excitable temperament. Relying greatly on the papers of Church, the author concentrates mostly on delineating his campaign and secondarily on the Rumelian chieftains.

In the second study, Dontas endeavors to dispel the general assumption that Greece was "solely a protectorate of the so-called Guaranteeing Powers, France, Russia, and Great Britain." Rather, the Greek state was undergoing a transitional stage, developing greater freedom of action in foreign as well as domestic matters.

Much of the volume is devoted to the Powers and the Cretan insurrection of 1866–1869, with brief chapters on the consolidation of constitutional monarchy, 1863–1865, and the aftermath of the insurrection, 1869–1875. It is regrettable that the author refers scantily to the Greco-Bulgarian dispute of 1868–1872 and relegates an important segment of this issue to an appendix.

The central figure in this period was the new king, George I, who was willing to abide by the principles of the Constitution of 1864, which limited the royal prerogative. The King was faced with an unstable political situation, marked by the maneuvers of rival political leaders; yet every minister defended the *Megale Idea* or Great Idea, a policy calling for the incorporation of all Greeks in the motherland.

These studies contain typographical errors and far too many French quotations and footnotes without integration and analysis. They need careful editing.

Ohio University WILLIAM P. KALDIS

YUGOSLAVIA'S REVOLUTION OF 1941. By *Dragiša N. Ristić*. [Hoover Institution Publications, The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace.] (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1966. Pp. 175. $7.50.)

THE forceful title of this book promises much. The book itself delivers la-

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mentably little. The *coup* of March 27, 1941, by which Yugoslavia abandoned the Axis and opted for holocaust, should by now be susceptible to more incisive as well as panoramic treatment.

The author brings unique qualifications to this study: he was aide-de-camp to General Dušan Simović (head of the air force and Premier after the *coup*) in the 1930's and after March 27, 1941, became his executive secretary. He thus writes as participant, observer, and, additionally, as a scholar trained at the University of Paris. Over the years Mr. Ristić has spared no effort in searching out relevant documentation, poring over Simović's personal papers, and conducting exchanges with surviving participants. Unfortunately, qualifications and assiduity have in this case produced uneven results, mainly because the author has combined the objectives of a historian with the purposes of a loyal associate and, in places, the emotions of a participant. Thus the first half of the book, essentially a historical essay on Yugoslav internal and external problems in the 1920's and 1930's, has been done with scruple, care, and objectivity. In the second half, the attempt at objectivity is earnest, but in evident conflict with the author's "mission," which was to establish Simović as undisputed prime mover and executor of the *coup*.

Several studies dealing with the subject have appeared in recent years. Those published in Yugoslavia have tended to exaggerate the role of the Communist party. J. B. Hoptner's comprehensive and impressive work, *Yugoslavia in Crisis, 1934–1941,* published in this country in 1962, was based on the papers of Prince Paul and largely pursued two lines: that, with the abdication of Western leadership and will, Yugoslavia had little choice but to adhere to the Axis system, and that the real originator and nerve center of the *coup* was air force General Bora Mirković, an associate of Simović.

Ristić challenges fairly effectively Hoptner's interpretation of Yugoslav problems and the policies that led the country into Hitler's clutches. He does not, however, establish beyond reasonable doubt that Simović was puppeteer rather than puppet; nor does he give much information on some crucial aspects of the affair. For example, what connections were there between the conspirators and Western, particularly British, intelligence in the days and weeks prior to the *coup*? Bits and pieces have emerged over the years, enough to suggest that these connections were of capital importance. But what were they? Also, the author's pen has only etched out the mind and the person of Simović, but has not peered into his deeper character or into his relationship with fellow officers, members of the court, government, and, above all, non-Serbs. In short, a more penetrating attempt at biographical analysis would have been welcome. Altogether, Ristić's treatment of the immediate antecedents of March 27 and of the *coup* itself is too compressed and fragmentary to be fully satisfactory.

It might have been too much to hope for a presentation that elevates the *coup* beyond being only an epic moment in Yugoslav history. It remains for someone else to deal with its larger repercussions, as an occurrence that forced Hitler to alter his military plans, thereby affecting the course of World War II, as well as an event that produced cataclysmic developments in subsequent Yugoslav affairs.

Stanford University IVO J. LEDERER

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BESCHREIBUNG MOSKAUS, DER HAUPTSTADT IN RUSSLAND, SAMT DES MOSKOWITISCHEN GEBIETES, 1557. By *Sigmund Freiherr von Herberstein*. Selected, translated, and explained by *Bertold Picard*. With a foreword by *Stefan Verosta*. [Österreichische Diplomaten.] (Graz: Verlag Styria. 1966. Pp. 187.)

HERBERSTEIN's famous "Commentaries" on Muscovy first appeared in Latin in 1549, and he himself produced a German edition in 1557, more than twenty years after his two personal visits to Moscow as ambassador of the German Emperor. Within half a century about twenty editions in various languages followed, including a first English edition in 1576.

Herberstein's description had been preceded by that of Miechow of Cracow in 1517 (republished in German in 1518) and those of Giovio and Fabri, which both appeared in 1525. These were based on oral and printed accounts of others. While Herberstein's account was followed by those of Staden, Possevino, Fletcher, Olearius, and other foreign visitors, none compare in originality with his. A keen observer with experiences from trips to numerous countries, he described all aspects of life in Russia: land, society, government, diplomatic usages, religion, church affairs, military matters, economy, trade, towns, family life, women, manners—a unique accomplishment.

A modern critical and annotated edition, such as Fritz Epstein created for Staden's account, does not exist. In English, we have the old Hakluyt publication (1851–52) and a recent one, in typescript and without introduction or notes, by Oswald Backus, made in 1956 from the third Latin edition (1556). The present German (Austrian) edition is based on the 1557 original German edition. It has no annotations and hardly addresses itself to the scholar. There are two short introductions, one sketching the diplomatic background of Herberstein's mission, the other giving a brief account of the man, his undertaking, and the importance of his "Commentaries." The volume includes several reproductions of illustrations that accompanied the 1557 edition, one showing Herberstein in Russian dress in 1526. It contains only extracts from the original, leaving out much on Russian geography, religion, and history. It has been rearranged topically by the editor. The Western historian, unacquainted with sixteenth-century Russia, may profitably use this source in its convenient, condensed form; the general reader will enjoy the strange, lively descriptions; the scholar will hope for a different edition, complete and well documented.

University of Delaware WALTHER KIRCHNER

KREST'IANSKIE VOINY V ROSSII XVII–XVIII VV. [The Peasant Wars in Russia in the 17th and 18th Centuries]. By *I. I. Smirnov et al.* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1966. Pp. 327.)

IN the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Russian state was badly shaken by four mass revolts, led by Bolotnikov, Razin, Bulavin, and Pugachev, and involving thousands of Cossacks, peasants, urban poor, and native tribesmen from the Volga and the Urals. For the authors of this volume these social upheavals were "peasant wars," a label appropriated from Friedrich Engels' study of the great *Jacquerie* in sixteenth-century Germany. In their view, Russian history in

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the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was more or less a recapitulation of what had already taken place in Central and Western Europe a century or two earlier; Russia, like Germany before it, was passing through the feudal epoch of history, and the risings of Bolotnikov and his successors were "class struggles" of the peasants to free themselves from the "yoke of feudalism."

Professor Smirnov and his associates, in their succinct and scholarly accounts of the four revolts, display an impressive command of primary sources. But their doctrinaire approach leaves much to be desired. Marxist terms like "merchant capital" and "feudal mode of production" are freely applied to historical settings in which their relevance is questionable. While economic forces receive prolonged treatment, scant attention is paid to the strong personalities who figured so prominently in the revolts. The charismatic appeal of Stenka Razin, for example, which Kostomarov and other prerevolutionary Russian historians found so essential to his success in winning a mass following, begs for a deeper look. So too does the vital part played by mass psychology, particularly that of religious and social myths, in kindling the flames of rebellion. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the lower classes in Russian towns and villages were hungry for a messiah. The ground swell of popular support that arose about the rebel leaders owed much to the widespread belief that the promised savior had arrived at last to purge the world of sin and suffering. Yet little of this emerges in the present volume.

The four revolts, "blind and pitiless" in Pushkin's phrase, were phenomena of such bewildering complexity that no single historical formula, Marxian or otherwise, can apply with any precision. One is confronted, rather, by a welter of economic, political, social, religious, cultural, and sectional conflicts, their confusion compounded by simultaneous foreign wars and by an endless series of adventurers and intriguers lurking in the background. That history is as much accident as system is a fact to which the great revolts in Russia bear ample testimony.

Columbia University PAUL AVRICH

A HISTORY OF THE SOVIET ARMY. By *Michel Garder*. [Praeger Publications in Russian History and World Communism, Number 172.] (Rev. ed.; New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1966. Pp. vi, 226. $7.50.)

ARMIES the world over strongly believe in tradition. It helps build their morale and keep it high. The Soviet Army in that respect is no different from any other army, although it took the Kremlin leadership almost one generation to realize that fact. The costly phase of trial and error after the destruction of the tsarist army might well have lasted longer had not the entire system been imperiled by the German invasion of Russia in the summer of 1941. What has gone down in Soviet history as the Great Patriotic War fused the classical heritage of the Russian Army with the Communist revolutionary spirit. The Soviet Army of today is thus the creation of the party and serves as the defender of the conquests of the Revolution, yet it is also firmly rooted in the historic past.

How this phenomenon occurred is told here. Colonel Garder takes the reader

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on a tour de force from Peter the Great to Khrushchev, dividing his course into four parts: the heritage, from Peter through the Civil War; the Red Army of Workers and Peasants, 1922–1945 (inadvertently entitled 1922–1941); the cold war era to 1964; and, finally, the status in 1964. The course is uneven and not always easy to follow, but generally rewarding.

The author has chosen some short cuts that, combined with his strong opinions, tend to weaken the history and result in certain inaccuracies, exaggerations, and some errors. Thus, for example, contrary to what the author states, the Soviet high command had developed plans for the formation of a partisan movement before the German invasion, but could not implement them owing to the rapid advance of the German armies. Some might also quarrel with the assertions that the Soviet Army of 1937 was superior to any army in the West in almost all fields, or that the Red Army in World War II occupied the first place among Allied armies. Nor is it generally accepted that the turning point of the Russo-German war came as early as October 1941.

John Erickson annotated the text, a most helpful effort that well could have been expanded since the work is not meaningfully footnoted. Basic sources, such as the official Soviet *History of the Great Fatherland War,* German captured document collections, and important works from authors such as Erickson or Raymond Garthoff apparently have not been used. Therefore this history of the Soviet Army has only limited value for the serious scholar.

Washington, D. C. CHARLES V. P. VON LUTTICHAU

STANKEVICH AND HIS MOSCOW CIRCLE, 1830–1840. By *Edward J. Brown.* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1966. Pp. 149. $5.00.)

NIKOLAI Stankevich would seem to occupy a place in Russian intellectual history unwarranted by his work, which consists of a few interesting but minor articles, a few immature poems, and a private correspondence of great charm and interest, yet a long way from the kind of visionary insight one finds in the letters of Keats or D. H. Lawrence, who, like Stankevich, died of tuberculosis at an early age. This early death was certainly an important factor in the legend that friends and would-be friends forged around him and that became a firm landmark in the historiography of the period. In this slender monograph, Professor Brown tries to demonstrate that while Stankevich as a personality was exceptionally attractive, his "influence" as well as his actual accomplishment were largely imaginary. It is simply not true, Brown insists, that Stankevich introduced the members of his circle to the study of Hegel; nor is it true that he shaped the lives of Bakunin or Belinski as they said he did.

I am tempted to argue that *all* influence is imaginary, and always *only* imaginary in that it is only in the imagination that it can operate, but I must concede to Brown two important points. One is that the historical image of Stankevich was a product of the need for such a figure, and such "need" is a fascinating, important, mysteriously neglected subject for study. Brown's second vital point is that the circle created Stankevich more than Stankevich created the circle.

There is a third point Brown tries to make, however, to the effect that tra-

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ditional historiography proved itself psychologically naïve and blinded in its analysis by the extent to which it partook itself of the romanticism that fed the legend. This point, I think, he makes less adequately, not because it is not true, but because his own psychological and historiographical assumptions are far from sophisticated, and his power to create a living image out of words and facts is not very great.

His original high intentions are embodied in a quotation from Croce, yet he ends by insisting that there is a "real" Stankevich after all, discovered and not created by Brown, "verified" by the facts—though what verification can mean, beyond checking one document against another, is not made clear. Brown is moved by a Protestant passion to destroy icons. And yet, because an icon is pretty and glows does not mean a literal text is necessarily truer. An icon needs to be understood in iconic terms.

Although Brown's language is flat, it is not altogether so un-iconic as he imagines, and we read, for instance, of Stankevich shedding "the habiliments of chastity which he had put on in his search for the ideal love." The book is long enough for a certain repetitiousness, but not, apparently, for that concreteness, the absence of which Brown bewails in previous studies. Descriptions are scanty; there is no nuanced evocation of character and milieu; and most of the quotations from letters have been used before.

About ten years ago Brown published an article on Stankevich and his circle, which seems to have disappeared, like the pupa of some strange insect into the adult form, without leaving even a reference in the bibliography. The many "unpublished" sources said to have been consulted are not indicated in any of the footnotes, and the only such source listed in the bibliography is an unpublished doctoral dissertation from the University of Moscow (1945), the contents of which remain a mystery. Indeed, I see no evidence that Brown has used primary materials unused fifty years ago by Gershenzon, whom he most unjustly derides, or that he has used the old ones in any striking, new way.

University of Rochester SIDNEY MONAS

THE POLITICS OF AUTOCRACY: LETTERS OF ALEXANDER II TO PRINCE A. I. BARIATINSKII, 1857–1864. Edited with an historical essay by *Alfred J. Rieber*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI[e] Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Études sur l'histoire, l'économie et la sociologie des pays slaves, Number 12.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1966. Pp. 153.)

THIS volume consists of a lengthy essay on Russian politics during the early years of the reign of Alexander II and a compilation of forty-two hitherto unpublished letters (in French) from Alexander II to A. I. Bariatinskii, viceroy of the Caucasus. The essay is divided into two main sections: "The Politics of Emancipation" and "The Politics of Imperialism." The letters are directly connected only to the second section of the essay, which seeks to explain the evolution of Alexander's foreign policy during the early years of his reign, with special reference to the Caucasus. The first part of the essay, which is an attempt to re-evaluate the motives behind the Tsar's decision to emancipate the

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peasantry and the means used to surmount the obstacles he encountered, is only occasionally illuminated by the letters. The author unites the two topics, emancipation and foreign policy, by emphasizing the common elements of traditional autocratic politics: paternalism and the primacy of military considerations.

Although both the letters and the essay on foreign policy make interesting reading (large sections of the letters deal with peripheral matters such as family affairs, promotions, praise for Bariatinskii and other soldiers), the excellent section on the politics of emancipation constitutes the real contribution of the volume. In this essay, Rieber substantially lays to rest the older view that insists upon the autocrat's fear of peasant unrest as a decisive consideration in the decision to emancipate. On the contrary, as Rieber shows, the fear of peasant unrest proved to be a more potent weapon in the arsenal of antiemancipation forces. His rebuttal of economic interpretations of emancipation does less justice to that school of thought, although he scores some good points. Most impressive is Rieber's discussion of the role of military considerations. Although it is generally agreed that the Crimean military disaster laid the foundation for the decision to emancipate, Rieber has successfully set forth a much more specific case as to which military factors were foremost in the autocrat's mind and just how they related to the abolition of serfdom. Whether or not the author has overstated his case for the primacy of military considerations can only be determined by further research, but his arguments are well presented, and his evidence stands up to close scrutiny.

Finally, Rieber places both emancipation and Russian foreign policy in a context that yields some important generalizations as to the nature and limitations of Russian autocracy.

University of California, Berkeley REGINALD E. ZELNIK

RUSSIAN SETTLEMENT IN THE NORTH. By *Terence Armstrong*. [Scott Polar Research Institute, Special Publication Number 4.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 223. $9.50.)

THE introduction to this volume quite properly notes that it "cannot be a fundamental work of scholarship" since most of the relevant archives are not accessible and since published materials tend to emphasize the history of Russian exploration of the Arctic rather than the development of Russian settlement there. The author, who has taken as his province the area north of the Arctic Circle in European Russia and north of the sixtieth parallel, plus the Yakutsk Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and Kamchatka, in Asia, has drawn upon the copious, if ill-organized, literature already available in both Russian and Western languages to provide a useful and judicious account of Russian exploration of and settlement in an area that is probably as unfriendly and unyielding as any in which man has ever lived. The text is divided into two major sections, one of which considers the course of Russian penetration in the years before 1917, while the second describes the great expansion of interest under the Soviet regime. Both discuss such factors as the number of settlers, the character of the various components of the population, governmental policies, and relations with

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the native tribes. There are many interesting comparisons with the Arctic experiences of other nations, particularly those of Canada, and the author notes many facets of possible value for other societies in such a region. Although the presence of compulsion as an element in the Russian settlement of the north is not minimized, "the results have been remarkable, and are unequalled in similar environments elsewhere. The Soviet Union has, or will shortly have, something of which it can be proud. Let it open its northern gates, so that the rest of us may see, admire, and learn."

A number of appendixes with statistical and ethnographic materials and several maps add to the value of this study, and a twenty-page list of works consulted, although it is not a formal bibliography and fails to list some materials a specialist might expect to find, is in itself a worthwhile contribution to the subject.

Library of Congress ROBERT V. ALLEN

THE RUSSIAN ANARCHISTS. By *Paul Avrich*. [Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. vii, 303. $7.50.)

PROFESSOR Avrich's book describes the activities of the Russian anarchists during the period 1903–1920. The subject does not lend itself to categorization. Some anarchists performed assassinations and threw bombs into restaurants, while others denounced terrorism. Some believed in organization, and some did not. Few of the leading individuals and groups that called themselves anarchist held to one course throughout the period. Those groups that lasted long enough to make themselves heard were so numerous, diverse, and transitory that they were never able to unite themselves and their periodicals into a recognizable movement. Describing them is no easy task, and Avrich is to be congratulated for bringing them all into a single picture, unavoidably inchoate but always well focused. In this book the absence of patterns contrived to match every effect with its cause is a virtue.

The author has had to be strict with the limits of his subject. Not all revolutionary terrorists and bank robbers appear in his text, only anarchist terrorists and bank robbers. Socialist Revolutionary Maximalists are left in the background. Likewise, Bolsheviks and Mensheviks with anarchist leanings receive no attention except when the self-proclaimed anarchists are influencing them. Thus, the account is at once specific and diffuse. There are moments while reading the book when one questions the worth of all the author's painful exertions to delineate his subject, but at the end comes the delightful perception that at last one can understand such peculiarities of the time as the large number of Jews who fought in the anti-Semitic ranks of Makhno's army. The anarchists, it seems, resided in the interstices between those major figures and events to which historians usually refer when they pretend to view the Russian Revolution as an orderly development. If it is hard to see any pattern in the anarchists' own random flowing, the experience of following them about does add some new out-

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lines to the careful reader's general picture of what was going on in Russia between 1903 and 1920.

Quantitative measurement is almost nonexistent, and membership and circulation figures, numbers of outbreaks per year, and all the other paraphernalia dear to Soviet students of revolution almost never penetrate the account. One assumes, judging from the mass of obscure and, to me, unfamiliar sources in his bibliography, that if figures had been available to render a fluid entity such as the Russian anarchists into tables and graphs, Avrich would have found them. Apparently, he did not. The loss is hardly perceptible.

Avrich sympathizes with the anarchists' view of the world around them and sometimes accepts it uncritically. It is inaccurate, for example, to dismiss all that the tsarist government did between 1881 and about 1900 under the simple heading, "dark clouds of reaction." Fortunately, the author gives very little space to this sort of thing. His account of the anarchists themselves is a model of balance and insight.

University of Maryland GEORGE L. YANEY

DOKUMENTY VNESHNEI POLITIKI SSSR [Documents on the Foreign Policy of the USSR]. Volume XI, 1 IANVARIA–31 DEKABRIA 1928 G. [January 1–December 31, 1928]. Edited by *M. S. Kapitsa et al.* [Ministerstvo Inostrannykh Del SSSR.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoi Literatury. 1966. Pp. 791.)

IN 1957 the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Commission for Publication of Diplomatic Documents initiated publication of a massive body of archival materials dealing with Russian foreign policy from the accession of Alexander I to World War II. Two large works, *Dokumenty Vneshnei Politiki SSSR* for the years after the Revolution, and *Vneshniaia Politika Rossii* XIX *i Nachala* XX *Veka* for the period from 1801 to the Revolution (in six subseries), are appearing concurrently and will eventually combine to cover the entire span. With Volume XI the first series has now reached the year 1928. The 398 documents chosen to represent the activity of that year are memorandums of conversations with foreign diplomats, reports from Soviet representatives abroad, instructions from the Soviet Foreign Ministry, government statements and proposed or concluded agreements (some previously published elsewhere), and 49 documents by foreign governments. The editing conforms to the high standards set in the earlier volumes.

The dominant concerns these documents reflect were the disarmament debates in Geneva, bilateral nonaggression pacts with neighboring countries, Soviet adherence to the Kellogg-Briand Pact, trade and "peaceful coexistence" with capitalist states, and support of the "national liberation movement of colonial and dependent peoples." Soviet diplomats were also busy with such matters as antilocust measures with Persia and Mongolia, arrest of German engineers working on projects in the Donets Basin, Béla Kun's release by Austria, recovery of a tsarist coin collection from Yugoslavia, negotiations with the Fiat Automobile Company, and training of cavalry officers with Fascist Italy. Friction with Poland over activities of Russian *émigrés*, with Rumania over its "unlawful

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occupation" of Bessarabia, and with Japan over Soviet subversive activities kept relations with these neighbors acrimonious. Ambivalent moves to change relations with the US met with American sensitivity about subversive activities directed by the Comintern. It is rather amusing that in this respect Moscow's men in Washington counted on the effect of Soviet rescue operations to aid an Italian polar expedition, for "the rank-and-file American is very sensitive to acts of heroism and the overcoming of physical obstacles."

The volume's preface states that Soviet foreign policy was based on the assumption of "imminent danger of imperialist attack from the outside." If there was indeed such a danger in the year of the Paris Peace Pact, the reader will not find the evidence among these documents.

San Fernando Valley State College MARIN PUNDEFF

SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY, 1928–1934: DOCUMENTS & MATERIALS. Volume I. By *Xenia Joukoff Eudin* and *Robert M. Slusser*. [Publication of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace.] (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1966. Pp. xvii, 353. $9.50.)

SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS, 1964–1965. Analyzed and documented by *William E. Griffith*. [Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Studies in International Communism, Number 8.] (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1967. Pp. xi, 504. $3.95.)

THE aim of the third volume in the Hoover Institution series is to present in the words of the Soviet leaders themselves the most important points of Soviet foreign policy without duplicating material previously published in English. The narrative summary, which introduces seventy documents selected from Soviet newspapers, periodicals, and Comintern reports, traces the course of events, but devotes little space to close analysis. The editors simply restate the familiar thesis that Soviet leaders were caught in an uneasy ambivalence by seeking to maintain trade and avoid war while at the same time formulating plans for the eventual overthrow of capitalism. Although the editors have made available excerpts from several important documents otherwise not easily accessible, it is not clear for whom they intended this volume. Covering much of the same ground as Jane Degras, *Soviet Documents on Foreign Policy,* they have made different excerpts from the same documents she cited or have presented material of secondary importance. Why did they prefer "Communist Policies in South Africa" or Voroshilov's trite "Soviet Readiness for Defense" to the full text of Stalin's important speech at the Sixteenth Party Congress cited in the summary? Even more puzzling is the absence of any reference to Volumes XI and XII of *Dokumenty Vneshnei Politiki SSSR,* especially to the important records of negotiations with Germany and Japan.

Several citations from Bukharin's speeches raise more serious questions. Were Bukharin's thoughts in 1928–1929 representative of the Politburo majority? To contrast his views with Stalin's, it would be necessary to have Stalin's complete

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speech from *Izvestiia,* July 15, 1928 (briefly quoted on page twenty-five). These omissions underscore the basic shortcoming of the book: the reluctance to explore any connection between domestic and foreign policy. Consequently, the timing and purpose of the Comintern's hard line in early 1928 remains unexplained and indeed inexplicable. The editors' implication that the world depression justified the shift ex post facto is merely misleading. The organization of the book, which forces the reader to shift constantly from summary to footnotes to documents, further reduces the value of the collection.

By contrast Griffith's work combines painstaking analysis and thirty-four basic documents (mostly complete texts) on all aspects of Sino-Soviet relations. As a result of more flexible tactics by Khrushchev's successors and the American commitment in Vietnam, the author concludes that the Soviet Union has improved its position relative to China throughout the world. Although he admits that a series of crises will continue to affect their attitudes toward one another and the external world, he foresees no permanent reconciliation between the two rivals. This is a solid contribution to a complex subject.

University of Pennsylvania ALFRED J. RIEBER

Near East

AMERICAN INTERESTS IN SYRIA, 1800–1901: A STUDY OF EDUCATIONAL, LITERARY AND RELIGIOUS WORK. By *A. L. Tibawi.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. xv, 333. $10.10.)

MANY American businessmen, diplomats, missionaries, teachers, archaeologists, and scholars were very active in nineteenth-century Syria, which then embraced present-day Syria, Lebanon, Israel, and parts of Jordan. On occasion they found themselves in conflict with each other, with other foreigners, with the native Arabs, and with the Ottoman government. Tibawi chose to concentrate wholly on the Protestant missionary effort up to 1901, touching only in passing on other matters. This limitation of scope and time narrowed the range of appeal of his book, but it resulted in a first-rate account of the work of those Americans whose direct and indirect impact helped to fashion the contemporary Arab world.

Foreign missionaries had been in Syria since the early seventeenth century. They were mostly French Catholics who were compelled by Muslim resistance to confine themselves to the Christian sects that were in communion with the Church of Rome. The first Americans, sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, arrived in 1820, and they soon encountered the same difficulties that had beset their Catholic predecessors. In time their goal shifted from propagation of the gospel among the heathen (that is, native Arabs), to conversion of the Jews, and finally to evangelization among other Christian sects when the hostility of the Turkish authorities precluded work with the Muslims. The language barrier and local opposition compelled them to abandon direct preaching in favor of teaching, which ultimately led to the establishment in

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1866 of the Syrian Protestant College, now the well-known American University of Beirut.

Tibawi has pulled together the surprisingly rich, often tendentious manuscript, archival, and secondary sources to present an objective, comprehensive, and lucid history of the accomplishments of less than one hundred men and women. Although the main outlines of their work were familiar, Tibawi's contribution is nevertheless of considerable value for its mass of new detail, which clarifies some aspects of Ottoman policy in the Arab lands and nineteenth-century Turko-American diplomatic relations. If measured by the at most seven thousand native Protestants in 1900, the achievement of the American missionaries could hardly be said to be commensurate with eighty years of arduous labor, but were it not for the intangible influence exerted by such outstanding figures as Eli Smith, Cornelius Van Dyke, and Daniel Bliss as well as the network of elementary schools, university, and the printing press, twentieth-century Arab history would undoubtedly have taken a far different course. It is regrettable that Tibawi, consistent with his plan, refrained from going into this aspect of the American presence in Syria.

Middle East Institute SIDNEY GLAZER

T. E. LAWRENCE: AN ARAB VIEW. By *Suleiman Mousa.* Translated by *Albert Butros.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. x, 301. $6.50.)

THIS is a controversial book about a controversial man widely remembered in the English-speaking world as Lawrence of Arabia. It is a sincere attempt by an Arab author to arrive at a proper assessment, after an examination of many inconsistencies and contradictions in the record, of Lawrence's real part in the Arab Revolt and its political sequel after the close of World War I. In this undertaking, the author has devoted the first of nine chapters to Lawrence's early background, an obvious attempt to discover the origins of his behavior as an active participant in the Arab uprising and as a chronicler. Then follows an account, often informative in itself, of those segments of the war in which Lawrence had a part but which, with reference to other reputable accounts, may have been falsely or inaccurately recounted years later in *Seven Pillars of Wisdom.* The author finds, for example, that "Lawrence . . . distorted the opinions of the leaders of the Revolt and attributed them to himself"; that "apart from their exaggeration and boastfulness, Lawrence's claims reveal an astounding ignorance of the psychology of the people and the stage of their development." Mousa's principal object has been to demonstrate that Lawrence was not an important character in the Arab Revolt, but that "by placing himself at Feisal's elbow he could mislead foreign readers into believing that he was at least the force behind Feisal."

In an appendix to the main text, A. W. Lawrence, brother of T. E. Lawrence, challenges a number, by no means all, of Mousa's criticisms. While Mousa undoubtedly had ample reason to question the exactitude of passages in *Seven*

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Pillars, and while his estimate of Lawrence's complex character may not be very wide of the mark, he has chosen to overlook a most important introductory remark in *Seven Pillars:* "The book . . . does not pretend to be impartial. . . . Please take it as a personal narrative pieced out of memory." When a reviewer can have no firsthand knowledge of personalities and events themselves, he can only agree with A. W. Lawrence's comment that "any reader of the sources can judge for himself whether this book's general assessment is reconcilable with them, upon which the verdict of history must chiefly depend."

American University HALFORD L. HOSKINS

THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN IRAN. By *Sepehr Zabih.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1966. Pp. vii, 279. $6.00.)

THIS is the first detailed study of this subject to be published; it is sufficiently comprehensive and sound that another is not likely soon to be undertaken. The author has thoroughly exploited the records in the public domain, especially the Persian and Russian, and generally interpreted them well. The Iranian Communist movement has been put in perspective in relation to the major Soviet activities, both of government and party, and to the movement elsewhere in Asia.

This is not to imply that the subject is exhaustively treated or always accurately interpreted; rather, on the whole, it is satisfactory and sound. One wonders why in the first chapter on "Persia and the Bolshevik Revolution" attention is only focused on the Gilan Communist adventure of 1920–1921, with no mention of the concomitant events in Azerbaijan and Khurasan, and why Chapter II on "The Interwar Period" only in passing mentions Azerbaijan as the home of the leading Communist theoretician, Dr. Taghi Erani. Granted that the title focuses on the movement, nonetheless one would hope a work like this would probe this key province for early Communist activity. If there is none, this should be stated. Chapter III on the "Wartime Revival" in the Tudeh party puts the Azerbaijan insurrection in perspective relevant to the whole movement, but its treatment of this leaves much to be desired for a fully balanced picture, especially as to the social base of the Democrat regime, the methods used to gain control, and the forces, personal and social, that finally resolved the crisis in favor of Iran's integrity and independence. Rightly enough major attention is on the party and Soviet-Iranian relations, but it is a weakness that the role of the UN and the Western Powers is underestimated and unmentioned. Subsequent situations have been oversimplified by a neglect of the role of Britain and the United States.

Minor comments could be made on the three chapters dealing with the postwar fortunes of the Tudeh party, but generally these are well done and a welcome contribution to the understanding of modern Iran as, indeed, is the book as a whole.

Princeton University T. CUYLER YOUNG

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THE ARAB BA'TH SOCIALIST PARTY: HISTORY, IDEOLOGY AND ORGANIZATION. By *Kamel S. Abu Jaber*. Foreword by *Philip K. Hitti*. ([Syracuse, N. Y.:] Syracuse University Press. 1966. Pp. xvi, 218. $6.50.)

THIS is the first full-length study in English of the Ba'th party. Founded in 1943 by a group of young Syrian intellectuals, the Ba'th party of Michel Aflaq joined forces in 1954 with the Arab Socialist party of Akram Hourani, under the slogans of unity, liberty, and socialism, and of neutralism, positive or otherwise, in world affairs. Professor Abu Jaber contends that, of all the numerous political groupings in the Arab world, the Ba'th is one of the few which, by its ideology, organization, and effectiveness, is really qualified to be termed a political "party." As the author well notes, the Ba'th program is drawn from Western socialism, "Arabism," and Islam.

The author traces the beginnings of Arab socialism, the advent of the party and its drift to the Left, the role of the Ba'th both in the formation of the United Arab Republic in 1958 and its breakup in 1961. While he has a good chapter on the activities of the Ba'th in Iraq during the troubled period of 1963, essentially the book is devoted to Syria and should be read in connection with the recent works of Patrick Seale and Gordon Torrey. Much attention is given to the delineation of Ba'th ideology, socialism, and orientation and then to the organization and structure of the party and the various difficulties that it has confronted. One of the essentials to an understanding of the Ba'th is that "the Ba'th party, while primarily a nationalist movement, found in the manipulative character of socialism a means of providing a social content to its nationalism." If driven from power in Syria, Ba'th influence, the author believes, would still endure, and he anticipates that, as long as it does remain in power, Syria will remain a center of agitation and anxiety for its neighbors.

Abu Jaber has written a succinct, well-balanced, and well-grounded treatise that will prove interesting for students of Middle Eastern politics. It closes with a useful documentary appendix and a brief bibliographical essay.

American University HARRY N. HOWARD

Africa

TUNISIA: FROM PROTECTORATE TO REPUBLIC. By *Dwight L. Ling*. [Indiana University International Studies.] (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 273. $7.50.)

THIS study of Tunisia's history from the French protectorate through the first decade of independence is a useful, factual, mostly political account. Less analytical, and tailored to a different scale than Clement Moore's *Tunisia since Independence* (1965), the book seeks to establish a reasonably reliable record. This record is compiled from government documents, books, articles, newspapers, and party publications, and, the author tells us, twenty-seven interviews and numerous conversations with a wide range of Tunisians. The author lets the facts speak, and he judiciously abstains from allowing himself to project interpretation.

The protectorate turned out to be beneficial to the Tunisians, but not well

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enough received by them to withstand the pressure generated by twentieth-century nationalism. Traditional limitations of undeveloped human and poor natural resources plague the new country. But today's efforts are Tunisia's own, helped, of course, by a generous American aid program and buttressed by a remarkably fine performance by the Peace Corps. Clearly, development depends mostly upon the Tunisian people. Thus far a usually intelligent and dynamic President manages to keep mobilized the Socialist Destour party. A new generation stands at the threshold of leadership. At the present time we do not clearly know the minds and objectives of these younger men and what their role in a permissive mass party structure might be, or if, indeed, that structure will be the reality of the next decades. It will be interesting, too, as our insights become sharpened with the passage of time, to evaluate the results of the state's absorption of roughly a million acres of land. De Gaulle considered this a matter of broken faith, and he canceled French aid and trade, forcing the devaluation of the dinar.

As Professor Ling says, these fine people deserve some victories. Targets under the economic plan are being approached. Tourism is expanding, and a decade of independence shows Tunisia to be somewhere in national adolescence. A deeper probe into Tunisian relationships with the world, into the results of national education thus far, into economic progress or stagnation, and into relationships between trade-unionism and the state than this book makes could provide us with some useful insights. This suggestion is not to deny the value and merit of this work.

Oakland University RICHARD M. BRACE

DANISH SETTLEMENTS IN WEST AFRICA, 1658–1850. By *Georg Nørregård*. Translated by *Sigurd Mammen*. (Boston: Boston University Press. 1966. Pp. xxix, 287. $7.75.)

THIS detailed study of Danish commercial activity in West Africa begins with the capture of Swedish forts in 1658 and ends with the sale of the costly undertaking to Britain in 1850. Based on extensive Danish archival resources, this work broadens our knowledge of early European activity on the Gold Coast in several ways. We are given new information regarding the rivalry of the Dutch, the English, the Danes, and other Europeans in this part of the world. One learns new facts about the rise of the Ashanti Confederacy and its struggle with Europeans over trade. There were occasions when Africans had the upper hand and acquired control of European forts and trading posts. No one can read this study and still believe it was easy to establish and maintain trading posts on the African coast, that it was not difficult to raise the capital necessary for such enterprises, that there were no problems in recruiting suitable personnel for these risky undertakings, that the slave trade was a profitable one. One learns that the Danes introduced the first Protestant missionary to the Gold Coast, that they had schools in their forts, that they sought to develop cotton and coffee plantations as an economic substitute for the slave trade. The prohibitive costs had a definite role in making Denmark the first European country to abolish that trade.

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While the mass of detail and the book's one inadequate map combine to slow down the reader's progress, the book has compensating rewards. In addition to the contributions just mentioned, it has an excellent bibliography of printed materials and a list of relevant manuscript collections, both public and private. If the history of the Danes in West Africa can produce such rich archival resources, one hopes that research by qualified scholars in the archives of other countries will add to our knowledge of the African activities of the Dutch, the people of Courland, the Swedes, and others. By encouraging the publication of this English translation, Professor Daniel F. McCall of Boston University well deserves the thanks of scholars unable to read Danish.

Yale University HARRY R. RUDIN

MISSIONS TO THE NIGER. Volume II, THE BORNU MISSION, 1822–25. In three parts. Edited by *E. W. Bovill*. [Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, Second Series, Numbers 128–130.] (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Society. 1966. Pp. xiv, 306; xii, 310–595; x, 600–798. $25.00 the set.)

THESE three volumes are a newly edited and annotated publication of the *Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa in the Years 1822, 1823, and 1824 [and 1825] by Major Denham, Captain Clapperton and the Late Doctor Oudney* (2d ed., 1826). Their appearance continues the "Missions to the Niger" series initiated by the Hakluyt Society, Volume CXXIII, Second Series, in 1964, which contained the relatively frustrating but relevant reports of Friedrich Hornemann (1797–98) and Major Gordon Laing (1824–26).

This edition of the *Narrative* reprints the plates from the second edition plus some from the more lavishly illustrated first; it omits the vocabulary lists, the natural history appendixes, and fragmentary translations of indigenous literature that have now been more fully published elsewhere.

E. W. Bovill, the present editor, offers a helpful scholarly introduction in which he draws heavily upon unpublished Colonial and Foreign Office correspondence relating to the Bornu mission; related Royal Geographical Society papers (including Denham's draft manuscript, substantially edited and cut by John Barrow, who after Joseph Banks dominated Britain's interest in African exploration); and contemporary secondary literature, much of which, Bovill convincingly argues, was actually written by Barrow. Impressions emerging from this new material include: Barrow's great concern not to admit any contradiction of the theory that the Nile and Niger were connected; that the explorers, especially Oudney, were tempted to bend official orders (exploration and trade reports south from Tripoli) to turn more westward; further information concerning Denham's "arrogant and dictatorial manner" and "malice," especially when he made "malevolent" use of the unsupported report by an Arab manservant that Clapperton had made untoward suggestions. Bovill has also worked out a full itinerary, provided a number of new maps to augment the original set, and added an ample glossary, explanatory footnotes, and cross references in the text.

The remainder of Volume II and all of Volume III are devoted to Denham's narrative, with related documents. Volume IV is Clapperton's account, as

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edited by Barrow, not perhaps so clearly or fully set forth as Denham's, but concerning a different, and very important, part of the expedition. Oudney died on the expedition; thus his contribution is limited to letters and notes, largely among the unpublished materials that the present editor has used. It should be remembered that, notwithstanding the Denham-Clapperton quarrels, these two men presented not competing accounts, but complementary work as one *Narrative*.

The essential point of Bovill's new edition is the recognition that Denham, Clapperton, and Oudney were the first to reach, and to report upon, a major area of Africa that was to undergo great upheaval before again being visited and studied in comparable detail later in the nineteenth century. For this reason, and for the quality of the work here presented, Bovill's new edition for the Hakluyt Society is most welcome.

Temple University DONALD L. WIEDNER

KATANGA SECESSION. By *Jules Gérard-Libois*. Translated by *Rebecca Young*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1966. Pp. vi, 377. $8.50.)

THIS is the best study of the Katangan secession that has as yet appeared in print. The author, director of the Center for Socio-Political Research and Information (CRISP) at Brussels, has drawn on a wealth of unpublished information, supplemented by personal observations; his book maintains the high standard that specialists have come to expect from all CRISP publications.

The writer sketches in the background of Katangan politics before independence; he then analyzes the upheaval in Katanga and the part played by the UN. He ends with an interesting chapter entitled "Concluding Observations," cast in the form of questions and answers. His monograph is too complex to be discussed fully within the framework of a short review, but it is essential reading for any historian concerned with the process of decolonization.

While the study unfortunately lacks a bibliography, it does contain a valuable appendix providing data on the various party leaders, party programs, statistics on the Katangan budget, foreign share holdings, production, documents, and so forth.

The quality of the translation, as in many such works, leaves much to be desired. Katanga was not assisted by "occult advisers!" The reader is also taken aback by mixed metaphors of the kind describing "the . . . need of the Europeans to have at their disposal a transmission belt into African circles."

I would also take issue with some of the author's observations. He doubts, for instance, whether Right-wing conservative circles have a particularly great capacity to influence public opinion in Great Britain through the press. The author could also have made more use of foreign material. For instance, a certain amount has already been published on the attitude taken by the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland toward the Katangan secession. Sir Roy Welensky's *4,000 Days: The Life and Death of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland* (1964) alone contains two separate chapters regarding his views at the time.

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These criticisms, however, can in no wise detract from the merits of a book that will remain a standard work for many years.

Hoover Institution LEWIS H. GANN

BRITISH RULE IN KENYA, 1895–1912: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ADMINISTRATION IN THE EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE. By *G. H. Mungeam.* [Oxford Studies in African Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 329. $8.80.)

SUPPLEMENTING the standard but general works on the British period of Kenyan history by M. R. Dilley and George Bennett, G. H. Mungeam has written a detailed study of the first seventeen years of British rule. His subtitle is descriptive of focus and content, for he concentrates almost completely on the extension of administration and on the machinery of government, especially on the relationship between district officer, the governor, and officialdom in London. His work is based largely on British archival sources, and it presents a disturbing picture of British policy and practice.

Neither the Foreign Office, which had jurisdiction over the East Africa Protectorate until 1905, nor the Colonial Office after that date, knew much about local events. The early governors had varied abilities, but were not particularly interested in or suited to Kenya. Thus Sir Arthur Hardinge, with major responsibilities in Zanzibar, never went inland in Kenya at all, while Sir Donald Stewart favored a forward military policy, but paid, apparently, little heed either to objectives or costs of conquest. Sir Percy Girouard, who came to Kenya in 1909 after a brilliant career in Nigeria, deceived London concerning movement of the Masai from their Laikipia reserve and arrangements for turning over land to settler groups. Although the Colonial Office was disturbed as early as May 1907 about the number of "minor military expeditions" in Kenya and especially about operations against the Kisii, a dispatch urging a change of policy was not sent until March 1909. The responsible official had in the meantime taken all the relevant papers to Bermuda. In London, only Lewis Harcourt as Liberal Secretary of State for the Colonies and Winston Churchill as Undersecretary emerge with much credit; in Kenya, it is the subordinate officials in the districts, such as John Ainsworth and C. W. Hobley, who are shown to be both clear-sighted and humanitarian.

Mungeam tries not to be judge, but it is hard to read his account without acquiring a reasonably low opinion of the British administrative system in this period. His account is terse and well constructed, but his focus on administration per se, with little discussion of land policy, white settlement, or the Legislative Council, may leave most readers wondering why certain policies were pursued, and the work will be of interest and use mainly to specialized historians of East African and British imperial subjects. It is rather surprising that the book does not include a map showing the Kenya-Uganda railway, central as it was to the development of administration and settlement.

Smith College MARGARET L. BATES

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SÜDWESTAFRIKA UNTER DEUTSCHER KOLONIALHERRSCHAFT: DER KAMPF DER HERERO UND NAMA GEGEN DEN DEUTSCHEN IMPERIALISMUS (1884–1915). By *Horst Drechsler.* [Studien zur Geschichte Asiens, Afrikas und Lateinamerikas.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1966. Pp. 372. DM 36.)

THIS carefully documented study out of East Germany is one of a number of works published by the Communists on German imperialism in Africa. Such publication is possible because they now possess the German colonial archives. Despite his commitment to Communism, the author has produced a work of great significance to those concerned with African history and with German rule in that continent.

The text deals almost wholly with the wars of the Germans against the natives to 1907. The period 1907–1915 is covered in twenty pages, that for 1920–1963, in eight. Drechsler says that the published accounts of this history represent the "bourgeois" views of administrators and settlers, who, he says, were actually interested only in taking the land and the cattle away from the people living in the area. Except for some missionaries, the Germans are portrayed as proceeding against the Africans as Americans did against the Indians in our West, consciously disregarding treaties, laws, promises, and humanitarian principles. There were some who advocated the extermination of the natives, a policy opposed by those who insisted that the colony could not exist without cheap labor. This utter brutality is fully documented, with footnote references that should satisfy the most critical historian. Here and there in the text are embodied generous excerpts from relevant documents. Drechsler contrasts the published writings of official participants in the administration with their actual views and deeds as recorded in official papers at the time policies were formulated, adopted, and applied. He says that the British *Bluebook,* published in 1918 to prove that Germans had mistreated the natives of Southwest Africa, was done with commendable regard for truth and comes close to his findings. On reading this book one need hardly ask why native leaders in Southwest Africa today seek complete independence from white rule.

Yale University HARRY R. RUDIN

Asia and the East

STRANGERS AT THE GATE: SOCIAL DISORDER IN SOUTH CHINA, 1839–1861. By *Frederic Wakeman, Jr.* [The Center for Chinese Studies.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1966. Pp. 276. $6.00.)

RATHER than traditional Western condescension for Chinese inefficiency and primitive weaponry or Confucian scholar-gentry contempt for Western barbarians' crass mercantilism and brute force, Professor Wakeman has woven an intricate tapestry of social adaptation to change, involving murky forebodings for the collapse of the Manchu dynasty seventy years later.

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The period is 1841, marked by a local militia "victory" over British forces at San-yuan-li, just north of Canton, to the so-called "Arrow" War and the British occupation of the city of Canton in 1856. These fifteen years saw the breakdown of Peking's authority over the countryside and the unsure seizure of power by local, eventually provincial, leaders or even regional warlords. But the picture breaks out of its Cantonese frame when local rebellion becomes revolution and secret societies and peasant unrest become social upheaval with the emergence of the Taiping rebellion, which conquered more than half of China and set up its capital in Nanking. The Taipings threatened the Manchu dynasty, rejected Confucian morality and gentry leadership, espoused a Western ideology, and to some extent established a Western concept of society and government.

The cast is on the whole familiar, with Captain Elliot, Sir Henry Pottinger, George Bonham, and Lord Elgin on the side of the angels, and Lin Tse-ssu, Ch'i-ying, Yeh Ming-ch'en, and others on the side of the heathen, but the real characters are the villagers, the pirates and bandits, the *Lumpenproletariat* which made up the local militia, the gentry who organized and led them, and the merchants who paid them.

This, then, is an inside job—the story of an area, South China, in the early stages of development of regionalism through secret societies, local academies, the Red Turban Revolt, and the Kwangtung Militia Bureau—regional, not national; antiforeign, not constructive Chinese pride; anti-Christian, not Confucian renaissance. The British won, but it was a hollow victory. After the war had been carried to Taku, Tientsin, and Peking, "the allies left Kwangtung. Canton, exhausted, humbled, irrevocably changed, was finally left to herself. Without relief, without anger, without protest or even hope, the city watched them go."

This book is meticulously researched, major sources being the *I Wu Shih Mo* collections of Chinese documents, local gazetteers of Canton, and collected papers of Chinese participants, plus full exploitation of the Public Record Office in London, archives and other British collections, with full use of contemporary accounts in English, both personal memoirs and collective efforts such as the invaluable *Chinese Repository* published in Macao and Canton from 1832 to 1851.

In all this fascinating unfolding of the picture of South China during and after the first Opium War, Wakeman is probing, searching, speculating for something beyond the detail of local history. What does it all mean? Is this a part of a pattern? Are there a beginning and an end, a cause and an effect? But somehow this remains a query rather than an answer, a search rather than a revelation. Almost by his own admission, his reach is greater than his grasp. He knows all the questions but few of the answers. He ends the introduction, which also serves as his conclusion, with this disarming and self-effacing statement:

> And so, in the end, the search for Taiping origins turns into a different kind of study, the dissection of a new historical unit: Canton, Kuang-chou, Kwangtung, South China—it has a cohesion all its own!
>
> Let us engage in local history.

University of Colorado EARL SWISHER

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RELIGION IN JAPANESE HISTORY. By *Joseph M. Kitagawa.* [Lectures on the History of Religions, Sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies. New Series, Number 7.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1966. Pp. x, 475. $10.00.)

In the conclusion of this ambitious book on Japanese religion, Professor Kitagawa reveals the larger purpose informing his efforts: "The tragedy of postwar Japan is that people have lost this fundamental religious orientation . . ." and "their traditional sense of values and of the meaning of history." Much of what he writes in these pages is an attempt, sometimes heroic, to locate these values in their historical environment and define the role they have played in the formation of a national personality. Owing to the Herculean dimensions of the subject, the book, I fear, serves neither Japanese history nor religion.

The major problem is that Kitagawa has not really chosen his subject. He is, apparently, torn between several competing claims: history, religion, the history of religion, and an ardent wish to remind us of certain values produced by the Japanese religious imagination. If it is his intention to show a relationship between history and religion, he has not done so. Inclusion of what we piously call "historical background" to explain certain turns and changes in the Japanese religious experience is not enough. In this case Kitagawa's promised dialectic dissolves into a catalogue filled with religious and historical intelligence which is the stuff from which the history of religion is made, but is not, itself, the history of religion.

This concern for coverage not only defeats Kitagawa's larger purpose; it also prevents him from exploring many of the exciting insights revealed by his study. His best ideas are reduced to the status of throwaway lines. For example, Kitagawa never enlarges the notion of an "immanental theocracy" which, he suggests, the Tokugawa sought to establish. While it could be argued that the vanity of Tokugawa Ieyasu's last years (the evidence employed supports this idea) resembles more the Roman emperor who felt himself becoming a god, it would be unfair to discredit this view because it is not developed. He also skims lightly over the surface of the enormously interesting subject of late Tokugawa "chiliasm" expressed in peasant hysteria such as the *yo naoshi odori,* the *ee ja nai ka* sentiment, and nativist efforts to routinize established norms of social behavior by relating them to Shinto.

What I am saying, by offering these examples of opportunities lost, is that Kitagawa would have written a better, indeed a distinguished, book had he not distrusted his own ideas and sacrificed them on the altar of coverage.

University of Rochester H. D. Harootunian

THE ŌNIN WAR: HISTORY OF ITS ORIGINS AND BACKGROUND WITH A SELECTIVE TRANSLATION OF *THE CHRONICLE OF ŌNIN.* By *H. Paul Varley.* [Studies in Oriental Culture, Number 1.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 238. $7.50.)

Professor Varley's study of medieval political institutions is based, first of all,

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upon extensive translations from a military chronicle of the Ōnin War (1467–1477): the *Ōnin-ki*. The translations, making up Part Two of this book, will be of continuing value to students who wish to investigate various aspects of life in medieval Japan. But the greatest value of *The Ōnin War* is in Part One where the author makes a thoughtful analysis, utilizing research by Japanese scholars, which shows, among other things, how the ancient imperial ideal and the traditional clan (*uji*) relationships affected institutions that were of central importance in the transfer of power from civilian to military leaders.

The analysis makes it quite clear that the persistence and power of the imperial ideal account for some of the most fundamental characteristics of policies adopted and the actions taken by each military regime. Although Minamoto Yoritomo, the founder of the first military government, was astute enough to place his capital in eastern Japan near his clan's power base, he was so insistent upon having his control sanctioned by the emperor that many of his officials were court nobles. The second military government, the Ashikaga, tried even more desperately to capture the power of the imperial ideal, locating itself within the imperial capital and embracing many of the trappings of imperial rule. Finally, the local daimyo, whose power was derived primarily from vassals who held fiefs in the daimyo's territory, continued to fight among themselves for positions that would place them closer to the imperial court where they could legitimatize their control with imperial recognition. The strong urge to seize the power of the imperial ideal explains why so much of Japan's warfare during the Ashikaga period (1336–1573) was in and around the city of Kyoto.

The Ōnin War reveals, in addition, the importance of the observation that each military regime was also preoccupied with efforts to obtain respectability, legitimacy, and power from blood ties with old and respected clans. By showing that traditional clan relationships were stronger in eastern Japan, the author helps us to see why the Ashikaga military government, located in western Japan, was not able to gain nearly as much strength from traditional clan relationships (centered in the clan headship) as did earlier military regimes. Even though the later local daimyo usually did not pay much attention to clan connections when they were building their feudal orders, they eventually would seek connections with some powerful clan of the past.

By demonstrating how these and other developments, such as the utilization and ultimate destruction of the old tax-free estates (*shōen*), altered political and social institutions between 1185 (when the most prominent military leader was mainly looking *upward* to the emperor for the strength of legitimacy) and 1477 (when the most powerful local daimyo were mainly looking *downward* to vassals for loyal service that provided economic and military support), the author moves well beyond John Hall's brief survey. This book will certainly create a thirst for other studies that will strike the same balance between thorough search for valid evidence and analytical probing for meaningful patterns of change. It may even arouse greater curiosity about beliefs, motives, and values that gave vitality to the main elements of such patterns.

University of California, Berkeley DELMER M. BROWN

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FOUNDATIONS OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN MODERN JAPAN, 1868–1900. By *George Akita.* [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 23.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 292. $8.50.)

In Professor Akita's view, the Meiji oligarchs were not villains who were determined to put down the liberal demands of the political opposition; they were enlightened heroes who sought to share political responsibility with the people through a constitutional structure. To be sure, the sharing was to be limited and controlled, but once the Imperial Diet was established, the oligarchs found that it was not so easy to keep tight reins on the political situation, and it even led one of them, Prince Ito, to put himself at the head of a political party in an attempt to bring about some sort of accommodation between the oligarchy and the opposition represented by the parties. The author argues that it is to the credit of the oligarchs that they remained committed to constitutionalism even though the experiment in parliamentary forms did not work in the way they had anticipated.

Akita gives a detailed account of the Meiji period based on careful reading of important documentary sources, and his material on developments after the constitution of 1889 fills a void in our literature. There is much to be said for his revisionist position, but one wonders whether he has not overstated his case. One of the difficulties, I think, is that he has not defined what he means by constitutional government. If we accept Professor Friedrich's definition, constitutional government provides for effective restraints on government, or, alternatively, as a political process it may be viewed as "analogous to the rules of the game insuring fair play." Akita states that the Meiji government did exercise controls, but in his judgment did so with a "relatively light hand." They were light compared with twentieth-century totalitarian controls, but the government did censor publications, jail writers and editors, break up political rallies, drive professors on occasion from their jobs, and ban certain political parties. The rules of the game did not generally seem to operate to ensure fair play. To characterize the prewar Japanese government as constitutional government, at least in Friedrich's sense, is to stretch the definition too far. Perhaps David Apter's concept of Japan as a "modernizing autocracy" would be more appropriate.

Stanford University Nobutaka Ike

THE KOREAN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, 1918–1948. By *Dae-Sook Suh.* [Studies of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xix, 406. $12.50.)

Fearlessly honest, this book presents for the first time an objective study of the Korean Communist movement from its rudimentary beginnings through 1948. It propounds the refreshingly original thesis that the mainstream of Korean Communism suffered a double defeat, first at the hands of the superefficient Japanese police and again by the nonmainstream Communists led by Kim Il-sŏng.

With impressive facility, including the exploitation of documents in five languages, the author has sifted and analyzed a welter of information drawn pre-

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dominantly from the records of the Japanese police, courts, and other regulatory agencies as well as from the highly partisan materials of both the pro- and anti-Communist groups. The resulting product is a richly documented pioneer work that illuminates often misconstrued or little-understood phases of this complex historical movement. To those in the field who have shared the frustration of reading typically emotional or tendentious accounts of the subject, Professor Suh's perceptive and impartial analysis is a welcome contribution indeed.

The author has provided original contributions that promote our understanding of the unique characteristics and the historical importance of the Korean Communist movement. Foremost among these are: identification of the mainstream Communists and the reasons for their double defeat, the "de-mythologization" of Kim Il-sŏng, and the clarification of the "alien" nature of his pre-1945 activities. Forceful and lucid in presentation, most of the conclusions of the study are convincing despite handicaps peculiar to the sources used. On the other hand, the author's dependence upon such inherently limited sources has led him, unwittingly perhaps, to focus his inquiry on the organizational and action-oriented aspects of the movement while underplaying its doctrinal and theoretical aspects. The author has in fact taken the imbalance of information to be an accurate reflection of the movement's ideological poverty. To treat the intricate process of Kim Il-sŏng's successive purges of rival Communist factions solely in terms of a power struggle, for example, is to oversimplify the nature of the struggle. This one-sided approach has led Suh to ignore any possible policy disagreements that could have been fundamental reasons for the power struggle.

Occasionally the author's conclusions appear to depend too much on judgment from hindsight (especially in Chapter x and the conclusion). Another serious oversight on the part of the author (and the editors) is the romanization of Korean, not to mention a number of typographical and other technical errors. It is particularly regrettable that among the romanization systems of the several foreign languages used, the most frequently appearing McCune-Reischauer system is apparently the least understood, judging from countless errors throughout the book.

The book in its entirety is, nevertheless, an undoubtedly worthy contribution to the long-neglected field of Korean history and a fine testimony to uncompromising objectivity in the tradition of true scholarship.

University of Hawaii HI-WOONG KANG

HUSAIN SHAHI BENGAL, 1494–1548 A.D.: A SOCIO-POLITICAL STUDY. By *Momtazur Rahman Tarafdar*. [Asiatic Society of Pakistan Publication Number 16.] (Dacca: the Society. 1965. Pp. viii, 401. Rs. 25.)

THIS detailed study of a brief dynasty in early sixteenth-century Bengal is an example of the work being done by a small group of scholars, members of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, centered around the University of Dacca. Professor Tarafdar has tried to present a comprehensive account of the forty-four years of Bengali history that are marked by the dynasty founded by Ala-ud-din Husain

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Shah. Historical materials are often scanty for this period, but the author has diligently utilized all that is available.

Tarafdar maintains that this half century was really a formative period of Bengal history. Isolated from northern India after having been disastrously defeated in Assam, Bengal was forced to discover its own cultural identity. This period did see a literary renaissance, and the development of romanticism that accompanied it added a humanistic touch to what would otherwise have been predominantly religious poetry. In part, this reflected bhakti influence. It is interesting to note that it was Ala-ud-din Husain Shah's son and successor, Nasir-ud-din Nusrat Shah, who built the structure at Gaud (Qadam-i-Rasul) to hold the footprint of the Prophet, one of the few instances in which Buddhism seems to have influenced Islam in India.

The author is especially good in discussing religious development. His discussion of the relationships between Hindus and Muslims at this time is one of the best sections of the book, and his description of how Sufism adjusted to the indigenous culture, based on the fifteenth-century poem *Adya-Parichaya* by Shaikh Zahid, is an interesting essay in cultural assimilation.

The book's ten chapters treat a variety of subjects: economic, administrative, fine arts, and architecture, as well as religious. Often, however, one gets the impression that this is a collection of notes assembled as a result of wide reading and study on a particular topic; at other times he becomes overwhelmed by the lists of names of people, places, and things. Two contemporary European maps are reproduced and integrated with the text, although that by Rennell is difficult to read.

Tufts University FREELAND ABBOTT

LIBERALISM AND INDIAN POLITICS, 1872–1922. By *R. J. Moore*. [Foundations of Modern History.] (London: Edward Arnold. 1966. Pp. vii, 136. Cloth 16*s*., paper 8*s*.6*d*.)

IN this brief and quite lucid volume, Dr. Moore attempts to set forth the contribution of English Liberals to British policy toward India during the fifty years indicated. To me, the author's achievement is mixed. At some points the study displays insight and grasp of the issues; at other points little more is done than to retell a familiar story; while at certain points the author's facts or interpretations strike one as incorrect. Overriding the whole is an all too pervasive tone of circumlocution, an ability to swath the realities in softly extenuating explanatory materials that are designed to portray the Liberals in the most favorable light available. As a consequence, apparently, of this penchant, there are certain hard facts about the Indo-British interaction that Moore can do no more than refer to casually.

Since they are relevant to the argument he seeks to construct, let me deal with a few errors of fact or interpretation. In his first chapter he argues, in a rather indirect fashion, that the virtual exclusion of middle-class Indians from the ICS examinations was part of an intellectual, Liberal attitude that applied both to the English middle class and ICS candidates recruited from the great public schools

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and universities. The facts are, however, at variance with this view. A relatively modest proportion of the candidates came from either source, with a more substantial portion coming from the special "crammer institutions." In fact, one aim of the change in 1876 was to get away from this situation if possible. The point is that English middle-class youths were entering the ICS, but middle-class Indian youths were not. More than a Victorian preference for gentlemen was at work.

Another error lies in the author's acceptance of the exploded myth that Lord Dufferin persuaded Hume to shape the Congress in a political direction. Dufferin did not abet Hume in any way vis-à-vis the Congress and showed no signs of the views on the Congress that Moore has credited to him.

In discussing the Councils Act of 1892 Moore again allows his convictions to color his interpretation. He stresses the role of local boards as "electoral" bodies, thus overlooking the nugatory effects of the Regulations governing nominations that were issued to implement the act; he also fails to point out that chambers of commerce and similar bodies were empowered to make nominations. This was a kind of representative system, but not an electoral system.

Moore argues that British policy sought to accommodate to the "natural leaders" of Indian society. At no place in the volume, however, does the author confront either the fact or its implications that the "natural leaders" were increasingly the urban, educated, professional class who were so largely represented in the Congress. This raises a central question not dealt with in the volume: why could the Liberals and Whigs not come to terms with these leaders? For an answer I would think we would have to look less toward Liberal ideas and more at how India was run and by whom. The ICS, a close preserve, zealous in protecting its privileges, might then loom much larger than it does in this study of ideas—ideas that proved, by the way, to have so little practical effect on British rule in India.

Duke University ROBERT I. CRANE

RAJAH'S SERVANT. By *A. B. Ward*. With a preface by *Robert M. Pringle* and *Otto C. Doering III*. [Data Paper Number 61.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Southeast Asia Program, Department of Asian Studies, Cornell University. 1966. Pp. xi, 204. $2.50.)

ARTHUR Bartlett Ward had a varied experience in the Sarawak civil service from 1899 to his retirement in 1923. He wrote his memoirs with no thought of publication but so that his children could "glimpse a fragment" of unique Sarawak and of its lovable (and likewise austere and autocratic) ruler, Raja Sir Charles Brooke. He gives a vivid and accurate picture of life in various outstations where the district officer must be equally competent to act as judge and diplomatist in order to suppress a revolt and in general wean his freedom-loving subjects from their passion for battle, murder, and sudden death by using a judicious mixture of friendly understanding, moral suasion, and, where unavoidable, carefully controlled force.

The book is all the more valuable because practically nothing has been pub-

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lished that adequately describes the raja's supremely personal methods of government. He had strong distrust of the orthodox form of colonial administration, feeling that it imposed ideas and institutions that had evolved to suit Western needs and were unsuited to people of a totally different race. The raja required his officers to spend about half the year traveling in their districts, not so much to govern them as to become thoroughly acquainted with the different races and to cultivate friendly relations with them. He chose many of his native officials on the principle of young sinner, old saint. In their youth they had been pirates, slave dealers, and rebels, but as government officers they became the raja's loyal and completely trustworthy agents. In addition, the raja was almost unique in his insistence that cases be tried in accordance with adat, the unwritten, customary law that was understood and accepted. When legal changes were necessary, the raja did not introduce them until the chiefs understood and approved the alterations.

Wolfville, Nova Scotia LENNOX A. MILLS

THAILAND, BURMA, LAOS, & CAMBODIA. By *John F. Cady*. [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1966. Pp. viii, 152. Cloth $4.95, paper $1.95.)

IT was a good idea to group the four Theravada Buddhist nations of Southeast Asia together as the subject of a single volume in the "Modern Nations" series. It has provided Professor Cady with a useful framework, ample enough without being too large for comparative treatment. He shows how these countries have inherited broadly similar religious, social, and governmental traditions, while on the other hand there has been little or no corresponding tradition of political or commercial cooperation between them. Burma in past centuries, when not frigidly isolationist, was often fiercely aggressive toward Thailand. Thailand frequently harried Cambodia and carved off slices of its territory. Laos suffered invasion by both Burma and Thailand. Buddhism by itself did not create bonds of international friendship, any more than did Christianity in the West.

Western colonial power and influence in Southeast Asia, beginning from about 1825, operated to keep the peace between these four countries, but concurrently the Western presence also created, directly or indirectly, divisions of a new kind between them. There was what Cady terms a cultural parting of the ways as Burma came under the sway of British administrative, legal, economic, and educational ideas, while Cambodia and Laos became exposed, though in much lesser degree, to French cultural influence, whereas Thailand, managing to evade the full impact of Western control, preserved the essential elements of its own culture. These varied experiences of the several Theravada Buddhist countries in relation to Western colonialism created divergencies of outlook that are reflected in the events and attitudes of today.

The author fairly remarks that American efforts to prevent Communist domination of Southeast Asia have paid little heed to historical factors affecting the indigenous viewpoints of the countries involved. His main purpose in this volume is to provide the necessary perspective for an appreciation of current realities

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and interrelationships in the area defined by his title. The treatment of the historical background achieves reasonable balance, given the differences in size, population, and importance among the four countries with which he is concerned, with no more weight in favor of any one of them than might be expected of the author of the standard history of modern Burma.

There are helpful notes on suggested further readings and a single, inadequate map.

University of Hong Kong BRIAN HARRISON

WHY VIET NAM? By *Frank N. Trager*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1966. Pp. vi, 238. $4.95.)

My first reaction to this book was that it did not deserve to be reviewed here. By any stretch of the imagination, *Why Viet Nam?* cannot be called the product of a scholarly historian. On second thought, however, I felt that perhaps it might well qualify for inclusion, not on account of its at best slender contribution to the historiography of modern Vietnam but, rather, as a document in American history. In short, this is a propaganda pamphlet that contains just about all the preconceptions and prejudices, all the gilded innocence and the brutal *Realpolitik* that constitute the web and woof of official Washington in the mid-1960's. *Plus royaliste que le roi,* Professor Trager is, after all, an academician whose verbal skills by far exceed those of the administration's spokesmen. He not only epitomizes our government's views—if not also "public opinion"—he in a sense intellectualizes them. This is why the historical brotherhood should buy, read, and ponder this book, but, above all, preserve it for posterity.

The basic factor in Washington's, and Trager's, stance is that Communism and Communists have no right to exist in Vietnam, certainly not in South Vietnam. This is a tough thesis to maintain in that particular country, but Trager defends it with considerable gusto. By a stroke of his pen, Ho Chi Minh's party is swept from the history of anti-French resistance before World War II, even though it already demonstrated in the early 1930's some organizational skills that went far beyond anything its nationalist competitors could attain. Our author has nothing but admiration for the centuries-old record of Vietnamese resistance to foreign overlordship, Chinese as well as French, only to end up by ingeniously equating Communism with alien rule. The people of South Vietnam, he assures us, "recognize that if they were to lose . . . , they would become the political chattel of Moscow or of Peking—or of both. [They] remain adamant in struggling against the imposition of *any* alien domination. . . ."

Now in order to denaturalize Vietnamese Communists (and by implication in order to naturalize Americans as it were), Trager has to exorcise Ho and his colleagues from the postwar scene as well. This, again, is rather difficult since it was, after all, the Communists who won the climactic victory over the French at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, thus ending French colonial control and liberating the country at long last. Trager obviously cannot ignore this key historical fact, but he decides that Ho, having done the "dirty work" of ending colonialism, should not reap the fruits. For one thing, he must not be allowed to claim Dien Bien

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Phu for his own party alone: "Militarily and psychologically," so he tells us, "the French had been worn down by the Viet Minh [that is, the Communists] *and the nationalists* [italics mine]." The "nationalists" having thus entered on Ho's coattails henceforth become the real heroes of Vietnam, the "Commies" being safely relegated to the familiar role of guile plotters, ruthless terrorists, and foreign agents we have always known them to be. Their trickery started at the Geneva Conference, a veritable Munich, if we are to believe the author. Yet, not satisfied with it, they started to violate the agreements there reached as soon as they had been signed. Confronted by such betrayal, the United States' righteous and relentless path to Armageddon became a historical necessity.

One cannot deny Trager's consistency and logic as he leads his reader through the fascinating mixture of *Dichtung und Wahrheit.* His logic, it is true, is at odds with the patent facts of Vietnamese recent history, facts that seem as impervious to wishful thinking as they are to escalation. But that is just the point. Trager at least has the courage to draw the conclusion that uncomfortable historical facts must be silenced, by any and all means. What of Vietnam, North and South, will survive after all this silencing remains to be seen. Presumably it could in the end seriously reduce the number of future generations, not only of Vietnamese but also of Americans, Russians, Chinese, and others, for whose benefit this period piece ought to be preserved, as I pointed out at the beginning.

Yale University HARRY J. BENDA

PHILIPPINE COLLABORATION IN WORLD WAR II. By *David Joel Steinberg.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 235. $7.50.)

THIS slim volume provides an excellent and valuable summary of one aspect "of the collaboration crisis which grew out of the Japanese occupation of the Philippines." The focus is on the conservative Philippine oligarchy that, having supplied indigenous leadership under American auspices before World War II, also supplied collaborationist leadership during the Japanese occupation. Little attention is devoted to militantly pro-Japanese, neofascist, and ultranationalist groups such as the Makapili and its prewar progenitors, the Sakdalistas and Ganaps. Also lacking is any discussion in depth of the impact the collaboration issue may have had in promoting the near-success of the Communist-led Hukbalahap rebellion in the late 1940's and early 1950's. The volume is too brief to be a definitive study of the Philippine collaboration issue, and, as the bibliography makes clear, it is remarkable how little material has been published on the subject.

Noteworthy is the tracing of the history of collaboration on the part of the Philippine oligarchy, largely of mestizo extraction. The author notes that their remote Filipino ancestors, the feudal-type caciques, had collaborated (and intermarried) with the invading Spanish in order to retain their local lands and powers. He finds that, during the anti-Spanish nationalistic movements of the late nineteenth century, most of the oligarchy again collaborated with the Spanish. He notes that when the United States took over the islands the oligarchy fell quickly into line with the new power and was branded as traitorous and

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collaborationist by the anti-American insurrectionists. With such a background, it hardly seems surprising that, for one reason or another, the large majority of the oligarchy collaborated first with the Japanese and then with the United States when American troops retook the Philippines.

Carefully and correctly, the author points out that there were many causes for collaboration with the Japanese, ranging from a desire to protect property and wealth, personal aggrandizement, and fears of reprisals or death to a sincere belief on the part of some collaborationists that their actions protected the masses against the Japanese. Equally carefully, the author makes the point that, with a few exceptions, members of the oligarchy who refused to become active collaborationists, yet were not active against the Japanese, suffered little at the hands of the Japanese.

Steinberg blames the US government's failure to take a firm position on the collaboration issue for helping return the collaborationist oligarchy to power, and he notes that MacArthur hopelessly muddied the waters of the collaboration issue when he "freed" Roxas, a leading collaborationist, while at the same time letting other collaborationists be jailed. He also makes the obvious point that the oligarchy constituted the leadership of the Philippines, making its return to power almost inevitable. Finally, Steinberg reaches one disturbing conclusion: the collaboration issue is by no means dead in the Philippines; rather, it is a dormant volcano that could erupt under various sets of circumstances. It is my opinion, however, that time and the death toll bid fair to erase the issue more rapidly than Steinberg apparently believes.

Honolulu, Hawaii ROBERT ROSS SMITH

CONVICTS AND THE COLONIES: A STUDY OF PENAL TRANSPORTATION FROM GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND TO AUSTRALIA AND OTHER PARTS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. By *A. G. L. Shaw*. (New York: Humanities Press. 1966. Pp. 399. $8.50.)

AUSTRALIA has its founding felons, and Professor Shaw has written a carefully documented study of convict transportation that lasted until 1840 in New South Wales, until 1854 in Tasmania, and from 1850 to 1868 in Western Australia. He shows how great the changes were in criminal law, how the particular working of the system developed, and how public opinion in both England and the Australian colonies changed. His is a brilliantly clear account of a very complex subject. Although he considers his conclusions tentative and indicates the need for more detailed investigation of areas and groups to confirm or refute his findings, this study is definitive. The findings reached by L. L. Robson in his *The Convict Settlers of Australia* (1965), using a sample method, merely confirm Shaw's conclusions. Shaw's research is deeper and more subtle. Some of the most valuable contributions are: his distinction between penal theories and practice; his evaluation of the English and the Irish convicts, as, for example, that a typical convict was a city dweller from London and other industrial cities; his statement that four-fifths of the convicts were transported for theft and fewer than a thousand for political reasons; his consideration of whether transportation was a

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deterrent when crimes continued to increase in England and only 5 per cent of the convicts transported returned to tell of their experiences; his important statistical tables, particularly on the cost of the convicts (for example, from 1786 to 1791 the average cost was £26 per man per year); his conclusion that parsimony influenced almost all aspects of British policy; and his statement that the most popular sentence was for seven years.

There is a greater emphasis on Van Diemen's Land and Norfolk Island, including experiments of Alexander Maconochie. The ending of transportation was due partly to colonial opposition, partly to humanitarian and press opposition in Great Britain, partly to the availability of more prisons in Great Britain, and, in the end, to the discovery of gold in Australia. Shaw has written a highly complicated story with considerable narrative skill, ironic detail, wit, and insight. Some of the chapters flow more smoothly than others. There is an excellent select bibliography, and the footnotes are mines of information. There are, however, few striking discoveries or changes in interpretation. Instead, the book consolidates and documents results of other research. This long-awaited work lives up to the highest standards of scholarship.

University of California, Irvine SAMUEL CLYDE MCCULLOCH

PRINTERS AND POLITICS: A HISTORY OF THE AUSTRALIAN PRINTING UNIONS, 1850–1950. By *J. Hagan.* (Canberra: Australian National University Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 386. $A6.30.)

Printers and Politics begins with a brief summary of the "Art and Mystery of Printing" in England and the rise of English trade-unions, then describes the formation of typographical unions in Victoria. A broader analysis of the 1880's and 1890's follows in which the author examines the rise of typographical societies in the other Australian colonies and the formation of the Australasian Typographical Union. Despite the efforts to coordinate activity on an international basis, each state and, in the case of Melbourne, city union tended to go its own way, some preferring to achieve their goals by direct action, others seeking solutions through state-sponsored arbitration. Though important gains were achieved through these methods, particularly through arbitration, the typographers found it necessary to divert some of their effort into the organization of all printing workers, not just the skilled elite. The result was the dissolution of the ATU and the formation in 1915 of the Printing Industry Employees' Union. Despite the formation of "One Big Union," each state organization tended to be independent, and it was not until the union placed itself under the jurisdiction of the federal arbitration system in the 1920's that a stable and viable organizational basis was achieved.

Sponsored by the union and based on its own and other union records, Mr. Hagan's study provides a useful summary of the emergence and activities of a conservative labor organization, though at the expense of a number of irritations. He writes from a perspective that is often too close to his sources; he gives too little information about such important questions as the system of state arbi-

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tration; he brings none of his characters to life even in their institutional setting; and he supplies an incomplete index. There are attractive illustrations and eight useful appendixes.

University of Illinois, Chicago Circle PETER J. COLEMAN

Americas

AMERICA: PURPOSE AND POWER. Edited with an introduction by *Gene M. Lyons*. (Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1965. Pp. 384. $7.95.)

SINCE the days of Henry Adams, if not of Leopold von Ranke, historians and social scientists have sought to emulate the methodology of natural scientists, hoping thereby to acquire something of the certitude, prestige, and generous financial support accorded to those latter-day darlings of fortune. In recent years predetermined "projects" and group research have become fashionable. An alumnus donor enabled the Public Affairs Center at Dartmouth College to commission the present study by, with one exception, present or former regular members of the Dartmouth faculty. Although only a third are professors of history, all employ an inherently historical approach.

Roger H. Brown traces the American sense of world mission, by example, rather than conquest, to prove that a democratic republic is the best form of government and that reform movements and governmental regulation are the best methods for the correction of social and economic injustices. Harry N. Scheiber traces our rapid evolution from being a debtor nation exporting foodstuffs and industrial raw materials to becoming an industrial giant and creditor of the world economy. Repeating, with some revision, his article in the April 1960 issue of the *AHR,* Rowland Berthoff observes the rise and decline of the geographic and social mobility of our population. Gene M. Lyons discusses the reluctantly acquired role of the United States as a guarantor of world security by means of military might since World War II. Meredith O. Clement is optimistic about the long-range trends of our position in regard to the international balance of payments, but finds dangers in the economic weakness and one-product exports of many of the emerging nations. Kalman H. Silvert demonstrates statistically that the wealth of America is so immense that it can hold an umbrella over the nations seeking independence and stability while actually devoting a smaller percentage of our GNP to such aid than any of four nations of Western Europe. Frank Smallwood celebrates the American city as our true frontier, all the time victimized by rotten borough legislative representation and committee chairmanships. Robert H. Guest singles out technological innovation as the central theme of American development and welcomes automation as the new robotized Moses that will lead the workman out of the soul-killing wilderness of the assembly line to become a skilled toolmaker and maintenance expert. Finally Vincent E. Starzinger views the growth of civil rights and the ending of political enslavement to rural domination as the Gemini twins who will escort America to the reclaiming of its birthright.

As might be expected, the essayists have sought recapitulation and summary

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more than startling, new theses. Footnotes and bibliographical notes indicate the studies, their own included, on which they have drawn. One envies them the opportunities they had, on the donor's bounty, to come together to expound and challenge. Socrates should have been one of the company.

George Washington University WOOD GRAY

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY IN THE UNITED STATES. Edited by *David D. Van Tassel* and *Michael G. Hall.* [The Dorsey Series in American History.] (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press. 1966. Pp. vi, 360. $5.95.)

THIS collection of essays is designed as "an introduction to the ways in which the modern scientific revolution has become interwoven in the political, economic, and social institutions of the United States." The editors have proceeded in the hope that surveys of the relations between science and key elements in American society will help teachers and students find their bearings in a field historians can no longer neglect. They have asked each author to contribute a bibliographical essay as a supplementary aid.

The pieces vary considerably in quality and scope, with some reflecting more the past research of their authors than fresh attempts to think through the subjects. Charles Weiner (higher education) reviews the nineteenth century capably, but barely touches the twentieth. Howard S. Miller (private agencies) limits his treatment of recent philanthropy essentially to a discussion of the Carnegie Institution, while John Duffy (medicine) devotes less than four out of twenty-seven pages to the twentieth century, when science really became a significant factor in medicine. Reynold W. Wik (agriculture) despairs of achieving interpretation, lamenting that studies are still too limited. I wish he had tried, as did Clarence G. Lasby (military) in a field scholars have only begun to investigate. The essay by Charles E. Rosenberg (social thought) compels agreement with his own conclusion: "This discussion has become complex and perhaps tangled in a series of somewhat arbitrary illustrations." By far the best contributions are those of Kendall A. Birr (industry) and Carroll W. Pursell, Jr. (government agencies). Having drawn two of the most significant topics, they keep their eyes on their objectives and achieve comprehensive and urbane treatments.

I doubt that *Science and Society* will be of much direct assistance to undergraduate students, but it may help historians and future historians gain some feeling for the state of the art. Most important, the volume demonstrates how much there is to be done, not in the quaint and curious beginnings but in the role of science and scientists in our own century.

Bethesda, Maryland OSCAR E. ANDERSON, JR.

THE IDEOLOGICAL ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *Bernard Bailyn.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 335. $5.95.)

THIS new edition of the general introduction to Volume I of Bernard Bailyn's

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Pamphlets of the American Revolution is especially welcome, both because it is useful to have a work of such critical interpretive significance available in an independent and less expensive form and because the new edition contains some important additions. Almost all of those additions occur in the first half of the study and may be considered as responses to two of the major criticisms of the first edition.

The first and most substantial criticism was that Bailyn had identified British dissenting thought as the major component of colonial political thought without making it entirely clear what dissenting thought had in common with and how it differed from "mainstream" thought. To meet that criticism, Bailyn, building upon the work of J. G. A. Pocock and several literary scholars, especially Alan D. McKillop, broadens the category *dissenting* thought to include all *opposition* thought and argues that both opposition thinkers and mainstream thinkers were proud of "the liberty-preserving constitution of Britain" and "agreed on the moral qualities necessary to preserve a free government." The crucial distinction between them was that the latter "spoke mainly with pride of the constitutional and political achievements of Georgian England," while the former viewed contemporary Britain "with alarm, 'stressed the dangers to England's ancient heritage and the loss of pristine virtue,' studied the processes of decay, and dwelt endlessly on the evidences of corruption they saw about them and the dark future these malignant signs portended." The opposition view, Bailyn suggests in a conclusion he promises to develop in detail in a later work, was especially congenial to colonial politicians because of the preponderance of executive power in colonial government and the lack of sufficient patronage to enable governors to "control" legislatures, and he includes an impressive array of new citations to document his proposition that the transmission of opposition literature from Britain to America "had been so swift in the early years of the eighteenth century as to seem almost instantaneous."

A second less valid criticism was that Bailyn had naïvely placed too much emphasis upon the oft-expressed fear among "Revolutionary leaders that they were faced with a deliberate conspiracy to destroy the balance of the constitution and eliminate their freedom" as a causative factor in the Revolution and that such fears, as one recent commentator has written, "can be put down to rhetoric" to which "serious men gave little credence." To show that this fear was indeed "almost universally shared by sympathizers of the American cause" and that fears of conspiracy were widespread on both sides of the controversy in both Britain and America, Bailyn has added to the already convincing evidence presented in the previous edition a considerable quantity of new material from a still broader spectrum of revolutionary participants. Because the criticism on this point rests upon a conception of the relationship between rhetoric and the political process that varies sharply from that of Bailyn, it is doubtful that any amount of evidence, and it could be multiplied many times, would convince the critics. What might have been more effective would have been a more comprehensive effort to show how imperial measures seemed to give substance to those fears, not simply by introducing a series of constitutional innovations—parliamentary taxation for revenue, more placemen, judicial tenure during pleasure, standing armies, and,

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perhaps, an episcopal establishment—but also by challenging in one colony after another what the colonists took to be their long-established corporate privileges and the traditional institutional bulwarks of those privileges.

These additions as well as the change in title from "The Transforming Radicalism of the American Revolution" are indicative of a subtle and appropriate shift in emphasis away from the radical tendencies of revolutionary thought, most of which did not resolve themselves until well after the Revolution, and toward what, it now appears clearly, is Bailyn's most distinctive achievement in this work: the delineation of the intellectual framework of colonial political life in the middle of the eighteenth century and the analysis of the extraordinary extent to which that framework conditioned the American reaction to the debate between Britain and the colonies between 1763 and 1776.

Johns Hopkins University JACK P. GREENE

CHURCH, STATE, AND THE AMERICAN INDIANS: TWO AND A HALF CENTURIES OF PARTNERSHIP IN MISSIONS BETWEEN PROTESTANT CHURCHES AND GOVERNMENT. By *R. Pierce Beaver*. (St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia Publishing House. 1966. Pp. 230. $6.75.)

FIVE lectures given at Baylor University in 1962 inspired this volume. In five lengthy chapters, only one of which is in the original form of a lecture, Professor Beaver has illustrated affiliation between church and state in dealing with Indians from colonial times. Rather than a synthesis or a comprehensive treatment, this is a sketch written from the vantage of missionary organizations, with minor attention to tribes and the expansion of white settlement westward.

A main contribution is evidence of the dependence of Indian missions and schools upon federal funds prior to the Civil War. The importance of missionaries in the acculturation of Indians is suggested, and particular attention is given to the Cherokee and Choctaw, known as the most advanced of the Five Civilized Tribes. There is much information about missionary groups and leaders who became involved with government while doing mission work among Indians.

While depending upon printed sources, the author has neglected some important scholarly studies based upon manuscripts. Concerning Indian removal from the region east of the Mississippi, there is no reference to Annie H. Abel, Francis P. Prucha, or Mary E. Young. Concerning Grant's "Peace Policy," no use has been made of three doctoral dissertations completed since 1956 or of a book published in 1963. Only two of the dissertations are listed in the bibliography, and a statement in the preface says, "they have added nothing essentially new."

To credit Grant with "idealism" and to attribute the appearance of denominational rivalry among Protestants to frontier influence is doubtful interpretation; to assert that "the more cultured and intellectual denominations . . . wanted to exploit and even exterminate the Indians rather than civilize them" appears biased. At least the historian cannot accept such views in the absence of evidence.

The objectives of the "Peace Policy" are discerned, but the reader must look elsewhere for an adequate appraisal of its effects. Treatment of the years follow-

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ing 1882 is sparse, and the book concludes with a brief note on the attitude of the churches toward Indian affairs during the twentieth century.

St. Olaf College HENRY E. FRITZ

THE YOUNGER JOHN WINTHROP. By *Robert C. Black III.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 459. $10.00.)

PROFESSOR Black's handsome biography of John Winthrop, Jr. (1606–1676), is obviously a labor of love. It is the first full-scale account of this extraordinarily versatile Connecticut pioneer. Indeed, it is fuller than any biography of his celebrated father. Black has combed all relevant sources, particularly the younger Winthrop's papers, still largely unpublished, in the Massachusetts Historical Society. He traces every convolution in Winthrop's variegated career: the wanderlust youth; the founding of Ipswich, Saybrook, and New London; the ironmaking, lead mining, land speculation, and stock farming; the medicine, astronomy, and alchemy; the correspondence with fellow virtuosos and membership in the Royal Society; and, above all, Winthrop's twenty-year governorship of Connecticut, capped by his charter of 1662 and his establishment of Connecticut's territorial limits vis-à-vis Rhode Island and New York. The younger Winthrop's career has been discussed before, particularly in Chapters III–VIII of my study of the Winthrop family, *Puritans and Yankees* (1962). Black provides far richer detail, however. His style is a trifle cozy, his narrative, leisurely. There are times when the reader feels suffocated by the trivia of Winthrop's day-to-day activities. But in the chapters on the 1650's and 1660's, when Winthrop was at the height of his career, Black's eye for meaningful detail is telling. In discussing the charter agency, he takes the main outlines of the story for granted and concentrates on the niceties and nuances of Winthrop's tortuous diplomacy. In this way he displays the brilliance of the Connecticut governor's personal achievement.

Black sees Winthrop as a politician par excellence, and a very modern breed of politician: secular, skeptical, tolerant, pragmatic, willowy, and tough. It may be that Black has been overly captivated by Winthrop's infectious charm. Certainly he shows little sympathy for the Rhode Islanders, who resisted Winthrop's efforts to annex most of their colony. While Black rather deprecates Winthrop's scientific and technological achievements, this is healthy enough, considering the exaggerated respect now paid to early American science and pseudo science. But Winthrop, for all his undoubted crudity, had the closest thing to a scientific mind in seventeenth-century America. His intellectual interests deserve more systematic analysis than they have received from Black, Dunn, or any other commentator so far.

University of Pennsylvania RICHARD S. DUNN

TRADE AND EMPIRE: THE BRITISH CUSTOMS SERVICE IN COLONIAL AMERICA, 1660–1775. By *Thomas C. Barrow.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 336. $8.00.)

THIS is an extensive administrative study of efforts to enforce the Navigation

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Acts and revenue on the colonies. Strong in its treatment of customs administration and weak on English politics and imperial policy, it is based on an impressive amount of research, but not always on sources that would allow the author to support his case on some crucial points.

Rarely penetrating mercantilist rhetoric, Barrow adopts a simplistic view: English ministers were motivated by a concept of empire explicitly dedicated to the welfare of England. This was true, he holds, except for the period of "salutary neglect" when Walpole and the Whigs sought to promote trade. But what minister from Charles II to George III, one wonders, did not? The difficulty in thus arguing from mercantilist theory is that it would justify so many things and was used by both sides on economic disputes. There was no consolidated economic interest in England; officials, shippers, merchants, manufacturers, retailers, Londoners, traders in the outports, and even individuals engaged in the same traffic disagreed. Legislation often was not the application of theory but rather attempts to compromise various interests with specific needs, particularly revenue, imperial welfare, and national power. And when it was profitable to do so, individual Englishmen as well as colonials violated the statutes.

Barrow agrees with Dickerson and Harper that most colonial trade was with the mother country, not because of enforcement but because of the economic advantages; still the colonists evaded the laws when profitable. But, he argues, profit and expediency turned to principle after 1763 when Grenville and Townshend, by enforcing legislation embodying mercantilist doctrine, sought to centralize the Empire. Barrow's investigation into the Custom's and Treasury records does not support this conclusion; neither does such evidence as the suggestions of petty, often anonymous men, the dubious memoirs of Horace Walpole, or Namier's Freudian analysis of Townshend. A systematic examination of the files of other boards and of the papers of the cabinet, Rockingham, Grenville, Chatham, Townshend, Shelburne, Egremont, and Dartmouth would have revealed that British measures were limited answers to particular problems. If control of the colonies was the object, it could have been financed on the British establishment. Barrow cites John Adams' *argumentum ad horrendum* of 1818 that taxes raised from trade could have been used to pay salaries and would have been sufficient in time to bribe the colonists to surrender all of their liberties voluntarily. But such revenue had been used in some provinces for almost a century to pay for the civil list without impairing local rights. Why the fuss now? The answer may lie in the local political situation as it did earlier in the century.

University of Nebraska JACK M. SOSIN

PURITANS AT BAY: THE WAR AGAINST KING PHILIP AND THE SQUAW SACHEMS. By *Charles T. Burke*. [Exposition-University Book.] (New York: Exposition Press. 1967. Pp. 261. $7.50.)

To what audience this book is directed is difficult to ascertain. The author could hardly have had specialists in early American history in mind, for the work is virtually undocumented, ignores manuscript sources entirely, and bears no evidence of awareness of most of the twentieth-century scholarship on Puritanism

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and New England. Moreover, Mr. Burke seems ignorant of the works of Douglas Leach and Alden Vaughan that focus on the very problems with which he deals. If, however, a popular audience is intended, the author simply does not write well enough. Too many lengthy, undigested quotations from published sources, too much reliance on the cliché (Burke's "natives" are always "restless"), and far too many digressions combine to make the work difficult for any reader, and the author's attempt to liven his narrative with parallels to grade *B* movies and television Western scenarios is invidious.

Probably neither specialists nor the general public will read *Puritans at Bay,* which is, curiously enough, unfortunate. The author does have something to say: blame for the bloodshed in New England rests far more on the white man than on the Indian. Without indicating the slightest familiarity with recent academic trends, which have argued that Puritans had an enlightened Indian policy and really attempted to maintain both peaceful and fair relations with the native population, Burke suggests, rather than documents, the refutation. He argues convincingly that John Sassamon's "murder" in 1675, which was the immediate cause of war, was legally unprovable, and those convicted of it were more victims of prejudice and hysteria than facts. He stresses the brutal violence done to Indians by the same white men who piously condemned the savagery of the red man. He comments on the white man's unwillingness to trust any Indian, except when he brought rumors of potential native uprisings. The double standard principle in time of war is nothing new. It is to be hoped that Burke will try again, taking advantage of modern scholarship and receiving some first-rate editorial assistance.

McMaster University J. M. Bumsted

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN: ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY. By *Roger Burlingame.* (New York: Coward-McCann. 1967. Pp. 255. $5.75.)

MON CHER PAPA: FRANKLIN AND THE LADIES OF PARIS. By *Claude-Anne Lopez.* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1966. Pp. xv, 404. $7.50.)

These two latest Franklin pieces have several features in common, including the illustration on the dust jacket. Both focus on Franklin the ambassador; both read well. Neither attempts a scholarly reassessment of first magnitude. The fact that both will be useful, each in its own way, gauges the depth of the well from which they are drawn and serves as a reminder that the Franklin theme is apparently inexhaustible. So, too, the contrasts between the two works illustrate the almost limitless ways of viewing Franklin's career.

The Burlingame volume, briefer of the two, covers a longer time span, from Franklin's first mission to England in 1757 to his return from Paris in 1787. The author writes straightforward prose, drawing on recent scholarship and adding a dash of spice from Franklin's endlessly amusing correspondence. Yet Burlingame's Franklin is not all wit and aphorism, but at times is the perpetrator of rhetorical flourishes as nonsensical as decanal effusions of a later age. Most of the high points are included: the contrived examination before Parliament, the

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tawdry transaction at the Cockpit, the astute dealings with Vergennes, and the final peace negotiations. The author frequently resorts to condensation and simplification, but unhappily he fails to suggest the complexities underlying these easy statements. Nonetheless, for the general reader, Burlingame offers a brief, balanced view of the ambassadorial years.

Mon Cher Papa treats the ten-year mission to France and a single aspect of that rich decade in the subject's life: Franklin and the ladies of Paris. What might have been in less gifted hands a series of entertaining anecdotes becomes, at Mrs. Lopez' touch, a work of charm and insight. The theme of Franklin and the feminine runs like a motif throughout his life, from the animal conquests of youth—the "errata" in his own words—to the sublimated, if not precisely sublime, relations of later years. The author develops this latter phase with a skill that is art itself. As her pageant of ladies—Madame Brillon, the Countess d'Houdetot, Madame Helvetius—moves across the pages the reader realizes that Franklin instinctively divined the French *mystique* and that his adjustment was total. His blend of the playful and serious, his flair for *double-entendre,* his repertory of bagatelles and trysts, even his poses as an exotic fit with the manners and decor of the old regime. The ladies responded by setting the Franklin fashion. They christened him *cher papa,* elevated him to the rank of social lion, and gradually made him a legend. But it is the elusive quality of Franklin's relations with the ladies that compels attention. The author has grasped it with Gallic intuition and conveyed it with a charm entirely feminine.

What all this contributed to Franklin's successful statesmanship is not of immediate concern here. Franklin and his bevy of ladies who become very real persons in these pages are good copy by themselves. Only faintly in the background are there suggestions of the grand maneuvers: the loans, the alliances, the peace negotiations. The reader may ask, when he recovers from the spell of this essay on human relations, whether he has had only an obbligato to statecraft. But he has also to consider whether paradoxically the obbligato was not after all integral, as much a part of the total effect as perfume to the salon.

University of Maryland AUBREY C. LAND

THE ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE: THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN NEW YORK, 1773–1777. By *Bernard Mason.* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1966. Pp. x, 279. $7.50.)

IN this worthy contribution to our understanding of the American Revolution, Mason provides insight into this complicated movement that has too often been stereotyped as an ideological struggle of libertarians against tyrants. The work offers abundant detail on the period; approximately one-sixth is footnotes of commentary and explanation.

Arguing persuasively that "the Friends of Liberty constituted a majority of the population," Mason indicates their relative strength by examining their activities and expressions of opinions in 1773–1777. Thus he corrects inaccuracies of Becker, upon whom he relies rather heavily, and others, especially Flick and Van Tyne, on the size of loyalist and patriot forces. His illustrations are varied:

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extralegal maneuvers, the Whigs' assembly election victory of 1776, and the Johnsons' failure to rally Tryon County to the loyalist cause. Radicals, moderates, and conservatives are aptly examined in two contexts: individuals' resistance to British policies and their positions on constitutional convention problems. Other scholars are left to investigate evidence of class conflict.

Mason takes 1773 as the opening of the Revolution in New York because the "tea act" was followed by economic troubles and political eruption. The introductory chapter lacks detail on the immediate background to 1773, but offers some good generalizations. A fuller treatment of the 1774 and 1775 assembly sessions would better demonstrate how and why the De Lanceys' center of power atrophied in response to growing hostility to royal government. Similarly, more than mention of *Common Sense* should be offered in the discussion of stiffening public opinion during the elections and winter of 1775–1776.

Mason's solid treatment of state government prior to adoption of the 1777 constitution is somewhat marred by omitting emphasis of the British occupation of New York City, which shattered the radical wing of the revolutionary party and gave the "aristocrats" a freer hand in framing the constitution. The latter delayed its drafting, partly to avoid the dangers of Pennsylvania's experience of 1776 when radicals pushed through a constitution. Mason's detailed analysis of New York's constitution making, however, reveals how conservatives largely had their way because moderates cooperated. Perhaps he might better have concluded his study with the 1777 elections instead of the constitution, for the elections offer a commentary on the results of the drafters' labors.

These criticisms, however, cannot detract from the essential merit of the book from which every student of the era should benefit. The publishers generally matched the quality of the author's work, but extensive explanatory footnotes merit better indexing than is evident. Several dozen footnote citations in the text are not to be found at the bottom of the appropriate page.

University of Akron DON R. GERLACH

NAVAL DOCUMENTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Volume II, AMERICAN THEATRE: SEPT. 3, 1775–OCT. 31, 1775; EUROPEAN THEATRE: AUG. 11, 1775–OCT. 31, 1775; AMERICAN THEATRE: NOV. 1, 1775–DEC. 7, 1775. *William Bell Clark*, Editor. With a foreword by *Lyndon B. Johnson* and an introduction by *Ernest McNeill Eller*. (Washington, D. C.: [Navy Department.] 1966. Pp. xliii, 1463. $8.50.)

THIS second work in a multivolumed series undertaken by the Naval Historical Division to publish the important documents pertaining to the naval phases of the Revolutionary War represents an improvement over the first. The project as a whole, however, still falls far short of the scholarly standards set by other prominent documentary publications in the field such as the monumental Adams Papers, the Jefferson Papers, the Franklin Papers, the Hamilton Papers, and the Madison Papers. Since this series is extremely important for scholars—the project will provide the necessary sources for writing the hitherto incomplete story

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of the naval side of America's struggle for independence—and is unlikely to be duplicated for many years to come, the editors should upgrade their work.

Two reasons lie behind the improvements in the second volume. First, William Bell Clark, the general editor, has moved into a more familiar period. Having written *George Washington's Navy* and a biography of Nicholas Biddle, captain of one of the first ships in the Continental Navy, Clark has dealt previously with the two major naval developments in America between September 3 and December 7, 1775. Second, the editorial staff obviously has made a more serious effort to track down original copies of documents rather than relying upon inaccurate transcripts, as was the case in many instances in Volume I.

Despite these improvements, this volume has many of the same shortcomings as the first. There has not been a systematic search for all available manuscript collections; for example, there is no citation to the Carleton Papers, which contain important information on naval matters and are readily available at Colonial Williamsburg. Such significant secondary sources dealing with naval problems in the period as Allen French's *First Year of the American Revolution,* Piers Mackesy's *War for America, 1775–1783,* and William Willcox's *Portrait of a General* are not cited. Nor does selection of documents always show sound judgment. There is nothing on the thinking of the British generals in America, Burgoyne and Clinton, who expressed pronounced views on how the Royal Navy might be used, and not enough of General Howe's ideas on the matter. The index, an all-important research tool in a work of this type, is still woefully inadequate.

Given the historical significance of the project and the fact that it does not suffer from the usual deficiency of an editorial enterprise of this nature—a lack of funds—scholars have every right to expect a more impressive performance on the part of the Naval Historical Division.

Clark University GEORGE ATHAN BILLIAS

PEDRO VIAL AND THE ROADS TO SANTA FE. By *Noel M. Loomis* and *Abraham P. Nasatir.* [The American Exploration and Travel Series, Volume XLIX.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1967. Pp. xxix, 569. $8.95.)

DURING the last forty-five years Abraham P. Nasatir has laboriously transcribed approximately 200,000 pages of manuscripts relating to the Southwest, in French, Spanish, Mexican, and American archives. Novelist-historian Noel M. Loomis has examined thousands of Nasatir's transcripts and written a history of the Spanish borderlands updating and supplementing the older accounts by Bolton, Priestley, Kinnard, and Thomas.

Half of the large volume emphasizes Spain's three-century struggle to hold, against intrusions by Indians, French, British, and Americans, a long, sparsely settled frontier line that stretched, at one time, from the Illinois country to California. In spite of "short-sightedness, avarice, paternalism, confusion of responsibility, absence of moral integrity, and a large portion of stupidity," New Mexico, Arizona, and California resisted conquest until 1846. The second half of the volume contains Nasatir's English translations of the journals of Pedro Vial, "the

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greatest frontiersman of them all," and of José Mares and Francisco Amangual, two of Vial's trail-breaking contemporaries in Spanish service. Between 1786 and 1793 Vial, an elderly gunsmith, in extraordinary overland crossings antedating Lewis and Clark, opened routes from Santa Fe to San Antonio, Natchitoches, and St. Louis (the later Santa Fe Trail).

The book is documented by the full or partial text of dozens of letters woven carefully into the narrative, and it is enhanced as a reference work by valuable biographical sketches contained in footnotes. Unfortunately, some of the footnotes are also too full of historical detail, and the manuscripts cited in them do not appear in the bibliography. The maps lack detail, only a few of the articles listed in the bibliography carry inclusive page numbers, and, at times, the text degenerates into little more than mere chronology. Actually, the volume holds two books in one: a political history of the Spanish borderlands and the edited journals of Vial, Mares, and Amangual. Separating them, or, at least, a slight change in title to "The Roads to Santa Fe, with the Journals of Pedro Vial," would have put emphasis where it belonged. Nasatir and Loomis have, nevertheless, compiled a substantial, scholarly history of the colonial Southwest and have enshrined Vial in the pantheon of explorers.

University of Texas JOHN E. SUNDER

MIRACLE AT PHILADELPHIA: THE STORY OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, MAY TO SEPTEMBER 1787. By *Catherine Drinker Bowen.* (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown. 1966. Pp. xix, 346. $7.50.)

THE core of this volume is a lively and detailed narrative of the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of 1787. Enriched by a three-chapter "Journey through the American States" based largely upon the observations of contemporary foreign travelers and a brief account of the process of ratification, it is, like all the author's books, brilliantly written, and the lay reader will find no more entertaining and no better treatment of the subject. The interpretation of the Convention and the Constitution it produced coincides closely with most recent writing on the subject. The author writes, as she states in the preface, "in admiration of the Convention and the delegates," entirely persuaded that most of the delegates, far from being the self-serving men described by Charles A. Beard and his intellectual heirs, sincerely believed that "the situation in the states was critical" and that "the Union needed saving and needed it quickly." So deep was this belief, in fact, that the delegates felt obliged to "struggle with the bias of birthright, locality, statehood" and to compromise repeatedly in order to create a new government that would both satisfy the needs and promises of the new United States and "be acceptable to the people."

Because the author, by her own admission, does not attempt any new interpretation, there is a danger that scholars may not give this book the attention it merits. Why it deserves, even demands, their attention is that it succeeds so well, so much better than any previous book on the subject, in doing precisely what the author intended it to do: to present a vivid re-creation of the "tenseness of the moment" with all the conflicts and anxieties as well as the stormy, emo-

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tional, and at times bitter interplay among personalities, prejudices, ideas, and interests that accompanied it.

Johns Hopkins University JACK P. GREENE

THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY: ENDURING DREAM OF THE USA. By *David Madsen*. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1966. Pp. 178. $7.50.)

WITHIN the limited space of about 120 pages, David Madsen has given an account of the "National University" idea, which his subtitle describes as the "Enduring Dream of the USA." As he points out, the early suggestions of Samuel Blodget and William Douglas and the more formal proposals of Richard Rush were concerned primarily with the objects and content of instruction rather than with the questions of control and finance. In the Constitutional Convention divergence of opinion prevented any mention of a specific power of Congress to bring a national university into being. The constitutional questions raised then have continued to complicate all discussions of a national university since. Washington's persistent advocacy of a university in the national capital and his bequest in favor of such an institution, should the fostering hand of government be extended to it, have through the years stimulated a patriotic urge to treat the idea as unfinished business demanding completion. Madsen's discussion of Washington's bequest is rather superficial. The discussion of the movement for a national university in the period following the Civil War is much more substantial, particularly in the account of the work of John Wesley Hoyt.

Madsen concludes with a discussion of the proposal of Oscar Steiner's foundation for the study of a "university of the United States" and prints its 1961 recommendations for a university on a postdoctoral level. While the text is largely a very brief résumé of the literature, Madsen's full bibliography, with its note on earlier studies, is exceedingly useful.

George Washington University ELMER LOUIS KAYSER

PRESIDENTIAL GREATNESS: THE IMAGE AND THE MAN FROM GEORGE WASHINGTON TO THE PRESENT. By *Thomas A. Bailey*. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1966. Pp. xi, 368. $3.95.)

"Presidential polls are something of a parlor game," Professor Bailey observes, "and should not be taken too seriously." Directing his attention to the well-known Schlesinger polls of 1948 and 1962, he takes them just seriously enough to expose their defects. The respondents, he points out, did not agree among themselves; nor did they represent a cross section of expert opinion, a disproportionate number of them being New Dealish Democrats, northeasterners, and Harvardians. Emboldened by their disagreements, he proceeds to offer his own ratings, along with forty-three "tests" of presidential greatness. He places the following Presidents higher than did the poll of 1962: Washington (first, ahead of Lincoln), Monroe, Tyler, Fillmore, Pierce, Buchanan, Grant, Hayes, Arthur, Harding, and Eisenhower. He ranks the following lower than the poll did: John Adams, Jef-

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ferson, Madison, J. Q. Adams, Jackson, Polk, Lincoln, Andrew Johnson, Cleveland, Taft, Wilson, Hoover, and Truman. Perspective is too short for an evaluation of Kennedy, he says, but he expects a high standing for Lyndon B. Johnson, since Presidents are likely to be considered great if they "contrive catchy brand names" ("Great Society") and if they get the country involved in "big wars" (continuing escalation in Vietnam).

This is a useful handbook for players of the rating-the-Presidents parlor game —the last word on the subject, I am tempted to say, though I know there will never be a last word on it. But the volume is much more than that. It is also a history of presidential reputations, an analysis of presidential leadership, and, in short, a comprehensive study of the presidency itself. Bailey carries his amazing erudition lightly and writes in his characteristic lively style, with many puns and other word plays (LBJ is a "middle-of-the-road hog"). The captious reader may raise an occasional question concerning Presidents he himself has studied. I, myself, would quarrel with the statements that Lincoln "was still trying conciliation when the Confederates opened fire on Fort Sumter" and that Buchanan "managed to keep four of the fifteen slave states in the Union, namely the crucial Border States." Eight slave states remained in the Union when Buchanan left office, and Lincoln was hardly thinking of compromise on April 12, 1865.

University of North Carolina, Greensboro RICHARD N. CURRENT

THE FAMILY LETTERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. Edited by *Edwin Morris Betts* and *James Adam Bear, Jr.* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1966. Pp. 506. $9.00.)

THIS is a noteworthy addition to the growing corpus of Jeffersoniana available through scholarly editing. It is the complete correspondence, so far as the documents are known to be extant, between Jefferson and his daughters and grandchildren, in a single chronology, with a minimum of editing for purposes of identification. Henry S. Randall was the first to print selections from the manuscripts throughout his biography of Jefferson (1858), and Sarah N. Randolph, Jefferson's great-granddaughter, included some of the same letters (with editorial liberties) in *The Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson* (1871), twice reprinted. A juvenile work, *For the Boys and Girls* (1964), by Edward Boykins, follows a similar, though less useful, pattern. Now we have the whole series with a helpful introduction and a detailed index.

In Jefferson's personal as well as official correspondence emotion so seldom broke through his reserve that one feels at arm's length from the man who is ever formal. While we may sense that the devotion of his daughters was tempered by the proper respect for their father, and that his grandchildren stood somewhat in awe of him, in his role of paterfamilias he was never happier than when all members converged on Monticello for long visits. The bonds between Martha (Mrs. Thomas Mann Randolph) and her father were especially close, tightened no doubt by Mary Jefferson Eppes's death in 1804. Anticipating her father's return to private life in 1809, Martha assured him that his "tranquility . . . will be the dearest and most sacred duty of your devoted child."

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He loved his grandchildren dearly, and he never failed to stress moral precepts, polite manners, and the importance of their education. The education and livelihood of his grandsons, Francis Wayles Eppes and Thomas Jefferson Randolph, commanded his wholehearted attention. Both turned to him for advice, which he readily gave and they did not always follow, but their correspondence closed the inevitable gap between youth and old age in a remarkable way.

In experiencing the mixture of joy and sorrow that is man's lot Jefferson was no exception. From the family correspondence one might conclude that he suffered more than the average share of the latter in his sacrifice of life at Monticello that was repeatedly interrupted for public service, in distress over frequent illness and death in the family, and under the burden of indebtedness that worsened during his last years. These personal letters, in the midst of public responsibilities and during his years of retirement, are essential to a full appreciation of the man. A month before his death he confessed to his granddaughter, Ellen Randolph Coolidge, "I find it easier to write 10. letters of busines, than one on the intangible affections of the mind." It is a great boon to the historian that the family preserved so many letters with this intangible quality.

Institute of Early American History and Culture LESTER J. CAPPON

ROYALL TYLER. By *G. Thomas Tanselle.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 281. $7.50.)

IN this first book-length study of Tyler, the pioneer American dramatist, novelist, and Chief Justice of Vermont (1801–1813), Professor Tanselle, having examined "ten large boxes of material" only recently made available to scholars, has emphasized bibliography, circumstances of publication, and exposition of successive works more than critical appraisal or ideological motivations. He proceeds on a sophisticated level, dealing with matters such as Tyler's use of a "triple satiric mask" as he attempts to provide four partly playful "proofs" of the Federalist position that the minority should prevail.

For historians the book's main usefulness is embodied in its sympathetic portrait of aspects of Federalism sometimes neglected. If some Federalists, such as Fisher Ames, distrusted American literary prospects and advocated a more Europeanized literary taste, Tyler's nationalism is here presented as the hub from which the spokes of his many-sided interests radiated. He feared that a high-flown or Della-Cruscan literature glorifying "splendid palaces" and those who aped the affectations of the nobility and their manners in other lands might lead "the young female mind [to] an erroneous idea of the world in which [as an American] she is to live." Such a literature "paints the manners, customs, and habits of a strange country, excites a fondness for false splendor, and renders the homespun habits of our country disgusting." *The Contrast* (1787), one of the first professionally produced plays, emphasizes the divergence between the innocence of the honest Yankees versus the affectation and experienced hypocrisy of Europeans who learned their ways from Lord Chesterfield. In stressing such contrasts Tyler included divergent speech habits as well as American simplicity and sincerity. Yet he could make intelligent use of his Harvard derived knowl-

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edge of the European cultural tradition as in his use of Cervantes. In an era when some twelve hundred Americans, many of good families, had been enslaved, as represented in *The Algerine Captive* (1797), Tyler's novel, he illustrates the fact that the Federalists could voice a considerable humanitarianism, which provides an interesting way station to later abolitionism. As the head of Vermont's Supreme Court Tyler pioneered in publishing two volumes of his *Decisions*. In an era when judges such as Kent seldom ventured from legalistic precedent, Tyler humanized jurisprudence. Tyler's travel book, *A Yankee in London,* satirically attacked British ways, including persecution of debtors and the shortcomings of parliamentarians. He defended religious freedom in America against Algerian Mohammedanism, but he attacked Thomas Paine's deism as well as his "Letter to Washington."

Needless to say, Tanselle's commendable book is much more than his modest characterization of it as a "starting point for further research."

University of Wisconsin HARRY HAYDEN CLARK

THE PAPERS OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Volume X, DECEMBER 1791–JANUARY 1792; Volume XI, FEBRUARY 1792–JUNE 1792. *Harold C. Syrett,* Editor. *Jacob E. Cooke,* Associate Editor. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1966. Pp. xix, 615; xiv, 657. $12.50 each.)

IT has been the general consensus of reviewers since the first volumes of *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton* were published in 1961 that they represent a contribution to historical scholarship worthy of their subject and an outstanding example of the techniques of modern historical editing. It is sufficient to indicate here that Volumes X and XI sustain earlier judgments and to indicate their specific contents and value.

These volumes, like their predecessors, show us Hamilton in his official person. Except for a dozen letters tracing the progress of the tritely sordid Reynolds affair, almost every document represents Hamilton in his role as public figure. Circulars to the collectors of the customs, detailed reports to Congress on the petitions of revolutionary veterans and revenue officers, and carefully itemized "Estimates of Receipts and Expenditures" offer further proof of Hamilton's administrative capacity. More interesting are those items that indicate his role as premier of Washington's first administration, its clear-eyed visionary, its source of factional division. Undoubtedly the most important document in these volumes is Hamilton's Report on Manufactures; the most instructive in explanation of the evolving division within the nation's political leadership are Hamilton's letter to Edward Carrington, May 26, 1792, and four short essays by Hamilton in defense of his financial system.

The Report on Manufactures is perhaps the most prescient essay in American history. Its importance is recognized by the editors who print Hamilton's four preliminary drafts with interlineations and marginal comments, as well as the contribution of Trench Coxe, published here for the first time, and a meticulously footnoted copy of the "Final Version." The editors wisely do not claim for

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Hamilton any great originality of economic analysis, but make clear that his genius lay in his ability to borrow the varied and conflicting ideas of earlier writers, to absorb the statistical information offered by Coxe and a score of customs officers, and to fuse all this in a single coherent vision of national growth and power. Hamilton was a mercantilist and a pragmatist. He sought not the apotheosis of the entrepreneur but the translation of the American economy from a stage of colonial subservience to a position of national economic independence and maturity.

In four numbers entitled "The Vindication," Hamilton offers an effective defense against the charge that his administration of the Treasury was designedly favorable to the paper money men. His correspondence with Nicholas Low, Archibald Mercer, and William Seton would indicate, however, that Hamilton was prepared to afford relief to those who had speculated in the growth of the nation and the value of its securities. One wishes that the editors had offered in a postscript their personal judgment of the propriety of Hamilton's occasional confusion of private and public position.

Their editorial restraint is obviously the result of deliberate decision. It finds justification in the pace of their production as well as the virtues of detachment. Certainly that pace makes likely the possibility that this editorial project, unlike some others, will be finished in the foreseeable future. If some credit for this desirable object must be allowed the agency of Aaron Burr, the remainder should be allotted to the scholarly energies of Professors Syrett and Cooke.

Lafayette College RICHARD E. WELCH, JR.

MUSIC IN NEW ORLEANS: THE FORMATIVE YEARS, 1791–1841. By *Henry A. Kmen.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 314. $7.50.)

THERE is no denying that, from the beginning of urban life in America, New Orleans has been unique. This book illustrates how that uniqueness expressed itself in the musical life of the community, and in doing so reveals an intense, variegated folk spirit. Because of its mixed population of French, Spanish, Creoles, free and enslaved Negroes, and assorted Anglo-Americans, communication was difficult on many levels. But music proved to be the universal language and in some important ways reflected the city's conglomerate character. Dancing provided the readiest form of social intercourse for New Orleans' polyglot population, and apparently the citizens were addicted to balls. Various kinds of musical activities—dances, band parades, and concerts—had an obvious impact on the city's Negro music makers. Kmen's thesis is that as New Orleans Negroes participated in the rich musical life of the city they absorbed elements from the diverse forms and that the later blooming of Dixieland jazz results from this fertilization.

A highly important aspect of New Orleans music that made little impact on jazz was the opera. The distinction of its nineteenth-century opera has been New Orleans' great glory. In the 1830's it had three opera theaters presenting

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regular seasons to some sixty thousand citizens, less than one-half of whom were white. Manifestly, the theaters expected Negro patrons. Much of the impetus for the opera came from national rivalries. The Orleans Theater catered to French-speaking residents, while the Camp Street Theater appealed to Anglo-Americans. The St. Charles Theater imported an Italian company to compete with both. In the course of the competition, New Orleans audiences heard the finest operas of the day and had more choice of performances than any other Americans. Indeed, New Orleans performed an operatic missionary service to New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore between 1827 and 1833, giving all but New York their first experience with a repertory company.

Kmen has researched diligently, and the book demonstrates his command of the sources. Much of the information is gleaned from New Orleans newspapers and travel accounts. New Orleanians approached their music with gusto, and the author has appropriately captured this quality. The writing is informal and witty, if too full of asides and instructions to the reader. For a book emphasizing the contribution of French national pride to New Orleans musical life, it is disconcerting to find that the author or publisher chose to render all French words without diacritical marks.

University of Oklahoma WALTER RUNDELL, JR.

WHEN THE EAGLE SCREAMED: THE ROMANTIC HORIZON IN AMERICAN DIPLOMACY, 1800–1860. By *William H. Goetzmann*. [America in Crisis.] (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1966. Pp. xvii, 138. Cloth $4.95, paper $1.95.)

THIS excellent series, edited by Robert A. Divine, is intended to furnish readable accounts of major American diplomatic episodes for advanced history courses and for interested laymen. Unfortunately, this little book falls considerably short of other volumes in the series.

It fails, basically, to focus sharply enough on a period of crisis, such as that of 1843–1846, which led to the Mexican War and the Oregon settlement. Instead, Goetzmann has tried to compress sixty years of American expansionism into about a hundred pages. The result would be scarcely indistinguishable from a textbook, except that he has inflated the importance of some minor incidents, more often for their drama and human interest than for their diplomatic significance. Materials and subjects with which he is personally familiar he handles with sureness, such as accounts of explorations and the Texas revolution. Elsewhere, however, his writing too often resembles that of his romantic heroes in its spread-eagle nationalism and its carelessness with facts and spelling. When he deals with the origins of the Mexican War, he more closely approximates the chauvinistic thesis of Justin Smith than almost any other modern writer. In recounting the peace efforts during the war he devotes more space to the futile but glamorous intrigues of Moses Yale Beach than to the successful diplomacy of Nicholas Trist, and he completely misunderstands the important role played in the latter by British diplomats. For the middle period teachers of American diplomatic history

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would be well advised to send their students to a textbook, to paperback "problem" anthologies, or to the standard monographs, tried and true.

Indiana University DAVID M. PLETCHER

SOCIALIST ORIGINS IN THE UNITED STATES: AMERICAN FORERUNNERS OF MARX, 1817–1832. By *David Harris*. [Publications on Social History, Number 4.] (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp. N. V. 1966. Pp. 146. 21 gls.)

FIRST written as a doctoral thesis at the London School of Economics, this slim volume addresses itself to an assortment of social critics whom the author chooses to call "American forerunners of Marx." The purpose of his study, Harris asserts, is to remedy the neglect suffered by these "precursors of socialism" whose role "has not yet been adequately and properly recognised." A chapter each is devoted to Cornelius Blatchly, Daniel Raymond, Langdon Byllesby, William Maclure, William Heighton, and Thomas Skidmore; more than half the book is given over to the discussion of Maclure and Skidmore. Most of the volume consists of summaries of selected writings by these figures. The ideas of each author, moreover, are presented largely in isolation from both the thought of the other social critics and the political and economic milieu within which they were formulated.

Critical commentary by the author is confined for the most part to identifying in the writings those elements that appear to foreshadow the doctrines of Marx and Engels. Indeed, the merit and historical significance of these critics are judged according to the degree to which they anticipated Marxist dogma. Skidmore, for example, failed to "grasp the full significance of the rise of capitalism, expanding, and creating anarchy in production and rent with contradictions," but let it be said in his favor that he advocated "world-wide revolution to achieve world-wide equality." Because of the author's ahistorical preoccupation with measuring these figures against the standard of Marxist orthodoxy, he appears indifferent to their significance for the history of their own times. This preoccupation further results in the arbitrary consignment of such dissimilar figures as Raymond and Skidmore to the same category of "forerunners of socialism." Raymond, who argued for compensatory spending by the state to maintain a high level of employment and consumption, appears more a forerunner of Keynes than of Marx. The author does not cite Joseph Dorfman, *The Economic Mind in American Civilization,* Volume II, which provides a differing interpretation of Raymond and several of the others as well. Nor does he appear to be familiar with recent studies of "Jacksonian Democracy." Thus criticisms of monopoly, privilege, and gross inequality of wealth are uniformly interpreted as anticapitalistic and socialistic expressions, rather than, as some have suggested, the voicing of the antiaristocratic and entrepreneurial spirit of liberal capitalism. In his single-minded search for forerunners of Marx, the author forces economic nationalist, cooperationist, communitarian, and radical liberal alike to sleep in his Procrustean bed.

University of Minnesota RUDOLPH VECOLI

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JEFFERSON DAVIS: PRIVATE LETTERS, 1823–1889. Selected and edited by *Hudson Strode*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1966. Pp. xxi, 580. $7.50.)

THIS volume is Hudson Strode's final encomium on Jefferson Davis. In it he seeks to illuminate "further the character of this unique historic figure," professing to see in these "intimate letters" "a new dimension of the man."

There are 429 letters in the volume; 208 were written by Davis, 126 to him, and 95 neither by nor to him. Three-fourths of them deal with Davis after 1865, providing an intimate view into his prison life and into his household during the gloomy years after the Civil War.

Strode's editorial work leaves much to be desired. He fails to identify the precise location of the hitherto unpublished letters, although one is left to surmise that most of them are from the Jefferson Hayes-Davis collections at the University of Alabama and Transylvania College. He makes some effort to establish time and place and to identify persons and events mentioned in the letters, but his negligence in this respect is unpardonable in a scholarly work.

No one who has read Strode's biography of Davis will be surprised by his frequent expressions of partisanship, some of which are hardly based on sound evidence: "Senator Henry Foote was a wily politician, who became a turncoat during the Confederacy and Davis's most vicious enemy." "This split of the Democrats made possible the election of the Republican's Abraham Lincoln on a partisan ticket." It was the sending of the Federal "'relief' squadron to Fort Sumter in April, 1861, which brought on the War Between the States."

Strode would have us see in these letters the Davis whom he loves: a simple and consistent man of highest principles ruled by common sense, by a warm heart, and by unfaltering courage. This is partially true. But Davis was also narrow, rigid, self-righteous. His indomitable will, his haughty air, and his unshakable conviction in the correctness of his own views were fatal faults. To the editor's credit, these letters reveal clearly this negative side of Davis' character.

The many letters of Varina Davis included in the volume make it "the record of a marriage," but her letters hardly reveal her to be a woman of noble qualities. She was selfish, jealous, demanding, neurotic, and exasperating. It is certainly a credit to the "inviolate composure" of Davis that he could suffer patiently this silly woman, and one can readily understand his fabricated excuses to be separated from her over long periods of time.

Both the letters published here and the remaining unpublished letters are now, Strode says, in "the public domain" and will presumably be made available to the compilers and editors of Davis' definitive papers.

University of Arkansas WALTER L. BROWN

BIDDLE'S BANK: THE CRUCIAL YEARS. By *Jean Alexander Wilburn*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1967. Pp. 149. $6.50.)

PROFESSOR Wilburn of Columbia University was struck by the fact that Bank

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War literature, in describing the forces that toppled the Bank, listed such a massive coalition that one wondered how there could have *been* a war with nearly all the troops on one side. Previous accounts also "tended to be more political than economic," a condition produced by overreliance on a few partisan accounts of contemporaries. To correct this, Wilburn strove for "a somewhat more objective approach," but one limited in two ways: largely to the first half of 1832, and to sources of support for the Bank.

The heart of this volume is the contention that state banks were not sworn enemies of the national bank. And those of the South and West were not the leaders in attacking the economic flank of Biddle's "Monster." On the contrary, many state banks favored the Bank, particularly in the West and South. Many state bankers appreciated the Bank's value, and in the credit-hungry Southwest, Bank notes and drafts dominated the circulating medium.

To measure pro-Bank sentiment among state banks, Wilburn relies primarily on the printed petitions from banks to Congress favoring recharter in 1832. Valuable as they are, the petitions should have been the starting point for research in the records of state banks and the papers of prominent bankers. Nor can one treat all banks as equals. For Virginia, Wilburn claims a 50 per cent pro-Bank alignment (two out of four), incorrectly cataloguing the Bank of Virginia as pro-Bank. To rank the Northwestern Bank of Wheeling with the Bank of Virginia is a failing in the type of qualitative analysis the subject requires. And the equally important subject of state bankers' *ambivalent* attitudes toward the Bank receives no consideration.

Politically the monograph is deficient. Two chapters deal with support for the Bank in Congress in 1832 and in the New York legislature in 1831. Wilburn concludes that New York City and western New York were pro-Bank and that many New York Democrats favored recharter. In the end, New York, the Albany Regency, and Olcott of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank emerge the culprits, but the focus on 1831–1832 avoids the issue of Bank War origins in 1829.

Although Wilburn called her study "an intensive one," research in primary sources has not been extensive. And since "Thomas Olcott's role is especially significant," an examination of Olcott's papers seems logical. They can be found in the Columbia University Library.

University of California, Los Angeles FRANK OTTO GATELL

A ROOM FOR THE NIGHT: HOTELS OF THE OLD WEST. By *Richard A. Van Orman*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1966. Pp. xiii, 162. $4.95.)

SINCE 1930, when Jefferson Williamson's *The American Hotel: An Anecdotal History* appeared, writers of all sorts have spread its numerous errors widely over the historical landscape. Although a few significant articles have been published in recent years, Van Orman's small volume is the first on the history of hotels worth reviewing in a scholarly journal. It grew out of what was reputedly the second dissertation ever written on the history of this major social and economic institution.

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The author has confined his research to the trans-Mississippi area, to the period 1830–1890, and has relied to a large extent on printed travel accounts written by easterners or Europeans. This sort of descriptive material makes for the "lively, light-hearted reading" that the publisher advertises, and Van Orman's breezy style has made this a delightfully readable book.

It is also an accurate description of these public houses as seen by outsiders. Here are the early road ranches that catered to pioneers traveling overland, the hastily built, badly crowded hotels of the mining towns, and the elaborate public palaces that graced the West Coast at the close of the century.

On the other hand, the limits set for the research explain why this volume cannot be considered the definitive history of the American hotel for the stated time and place. The visitors to the West did not like their hotels, and they admitted that they could not comprehend why the local people were so proud and fond of them. The explanations and answers needed to make this a complete history can be found only by much digging in such local sources as newspapers and courthouse records.

The story also needs to be set into the context of general hotel history; the author's reliance on Williamson's old book for background material has sometimes led him astray and marred an otherwise accurate work. The socioeconomic forces that made the first-class hotel of the Gilded Age quite a different thing from the first-class hotel of the Age of Jackson also need more attention. All that considered, this work is still a noteworthy contribution to the field. To me, at least, it seems the most reliable, useful, and original book on the subject published since *The Colonial Tavern,* written by Edward Field, appeared in the 1890's.

North Carolina State University DORIS ELIZABETH KING

FORT LARAMIE AND THE SIOUX INDIANS. By *Remi Nadeau.* [The American Forts Series.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1967. Pp. xii, 335. $7.95.)

ESTABLISHED as a privately owned trading post in 1834, Fort Laramie was a point of rendezvous for mountain men and Indians. Later it became a way station on the trail to Oregon, California, and the Great Basin visited by missionaries, explorers, scientists, artists, and migrant pioneers. When it passed into the hands of the United States Army in 1849, the fort became the site for important Indian treaty negotiations, specifically in 1851 and 1868, and a military outpost protecting vital lines of communication including roads used by the military, express and mail carriers, and the transcontinental telegraph. This volume in "The American Forts Series," however, has much more to say about Indians, primarily the Sioux and to a lesser extent the Cheyenne and Arapaho, than about Fort Laramie. The theme is the eternal conflict between the red man, on the one hand, and the army, traders, and pioneers, on the other. Using a chronological approach to his narrative, the author pens accounts of the Grattan incident, the Sand Creek massacre, the fight for the Platte River Bridge, the Fetterman massacre, the Battle of the Rosebud, the ghost dance craze, the Battle of Wounded

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Knee, and many other dramatic incidents. This all adds up to a tale too often told.

The bibliography reveals that Nadeau has made a systematic examination of the literature relating to his subject. More than most writers on the West are willing to do, he has studied and analyzed the "first-hand sources" left behind by the participants in his story in the form of manuscripts, government publications, periodical and newspaper accounts, and book-length reminiscences. Unfortunately, from the standpoint of the scholar, he fails to indicate when and where he uses this material by means of footnotes, although one or two exceptionally pertinent documents in the National Archives are mentioned in the appendix. Nadeau displays skill in organizing his material and selecting quotations to gain the maximum dramatic effect. His literary style is crisp and sure, without doubt the envy of many professional historians. Professionals will, however, complain about his license in manufacturing dialogue between participants in his narrative, even though in doing so he carefully paraphrases observations written by a third person. In spite of all the objections, Nadeau has produced a sound, spritely written book that will be widely read—not only his primary purpose, but also that of his publisher and the series editor.

University of California, Davis W. Turrentine Jackson

SKETCHES OF EARLY TEXAS AND LOUISIANA. By *Frédéric Gaillardet.* Translated with an introduction and notes by *James L. Shepherd III.* (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1966. Pp. xx, 169. $5.00.)

Frédéric Gaillardet, a French lawyer with a flair for writing, resided twelve years (1837–1849) in North America, where he published a French-language newspaper and assiduously gathered information for his projected study of aristocracy in the United States, which he hoped would correct the false impression left by Alexis de Tocqueville's popular assessment of American democracy. During his stay in America, Gaillardet visited Louisiana and Texas, two areas of particular interest to France, and wrote some descriptive articles for various French newspapers. James L. Shepherd of Baylor University has collected and faithfully translated the most informative and inaccessible of these writings.

Shepherd laments the fact that the work of so prominent an author has been neglected, but the information contained in this translation unfortunately reveals little that is new or significant about early Texas and Louisiana. At least half of the *Sketches* consists of historical descriptions that are neither extremely accurate nor unusually interesting. Of some value are Gaillardet's brief character studies of four prominent members of the New Orleans bar and his discussion of the abortive French settlement of Champ d'Asile. More polemic is Gaillardet's fervent but unconvincing defense of his much-maligned friend, Pierre Soulé. Gaillardet contended that Soulé promoted the Ostend Manifesto of 1854 not to pressure Spain into selling Cuba but to assert America's right to encourage the establishment of revolutionary republics in Europe.

Although Shepherd's translation is generally of high quality, his editorial

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work is inadequate and careless. Numerous persons, places, and events are left unidentified. Only occasionally does he bother to correct Gaillardet's frequent misstatements of fact or to question his unsupported assertions.

Finally, the uncritical and sometimes naïve observations of Gaillardet hardly justify Shepherd's glowing tribute that he possessed "a historian's sharp insight and just appraisal of facts." Instead Shepherd proves that the Frenchman was essentially a plagiarist and a propagandist. While this work may please the collector of Texana, the historian will be disappointed.

University of Houston ROBERT V. HAYNES

GERMAN SEED IN TEXAS SOIL: IMMIGRANT FARMERS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY TEXAS. By *Terry G. Jordan.* (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1966. Pp. xiii, 237. $6.00.)

THE author of this unexciting monograph seeks to evaluate the "farming heritage of the Germans in shaping the agriculture" of the areas in Texas into which they moved. He also seeks to make an "objective appraisal" of the oft-repeated claims of "German agricultural distinctiveness and superiority in Texas." This is done mostly by comparing German farmers with southern whites in selected Texas counties. Data for these comparisons are drawn primarily from the manuscript agricultural census of 1850–1880, and so to a very large extent the study focuses on this thirty-year period.

It opens with a brief account of nineteenth-century southern agriculture and its expansion into Texas. This is followed by a sketch of nineteenth-century farmers and farming in Germany and with some discussion of German immigration to Texas. A long chapter is then devoted to an examination of German farmers in the "cotton kingdom," on the eastern end of the "German belt in Texas." Most of the statistical data come from Austin and Waller Counties. The next chapter is concerned with German farmers on the "rim of the desert," on the western end of the German belt. Data used here come from Gillespie, Mason, and Llano Counties. A total of fifty-two tables were developed mostly to offer comparisons between German and Anglo-American farmers, and a number of differences are indicated. Unfortunately, the tables give only averages without showing the ranges and medians of the data. Occasionally a table seems to have been included merely because the data were available.

The author has worked long in compiling and analyzing data, and he fills in the story of the settlement and the work of German farmers in Texas, but the questions raised are not directly dealt with by either data or analysis. It is not surprising that "a number of striking differences and similarities" were found, but it is surprising that a book dealing with German immigrants in Texas could be written without mentioning *Bratwurst* or *Kinderfest.*

University of Washington VERNON CARSTENSEN

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THE SHRINE OF PARTY: CONGRESSIONAL VOTING BEHAVIOR 1841–1852. By *Joel H. Silbey*. ([Pittsburgh:] University of Pittsburgh Press. 1967. Pp. x, 292. $6.00.)

THIS is the first extensive application of the scalogram analysis of congressional voting to a classic problem of American historiography. Rather than deriving attitudes of congressmen on some issue or cluster of issues from a single, impressionistically selected roll call, the scalogram technique logs the legislators' votes on all the roll calls related to the issue and thus derives a quantitative expression of the relative strength and consistency with which different congressmen favored or opposed some line of public policy.

Professor Silbey has utilized this technique to demonstrate that partisan influences were far more important than sectional influences on congressional voting in the 1840's. The scales he has constructed for such issues as the tariff, financial policy, land policy, and the Mexican War show Democrats overwhelmingly at one end of the scales and Whigs overwhelmingly at the opposite end, whereas sectional analysis of the same scales produces random distributions. Only on internal improvements scales did regional influences significantly confuse partisan orientations before 1847, while even the eruption of the territorial slavery issue in the last years of the decade only briefly and partially caused sectional loyalties to predominate over partisan attachments.

While Silbey has impressively made his case, both for the utility of the scalogram technique and for the predominance of party in the 1840's, some reservations must be expressed. Given the many factors affecting voting decisions, the scales are not quite the scientific measures of attitude that their quantitative precision may suggest. Moreover, the author does not identify the roll calls on which he has based his scales, and one may doubt, for example, whether his seventeen roll calls "on a bankruptcy bill, federal assumption of state debts, a treasury note bill, and a loan bill" in 1841–1843 provide a sound basis for measuring attitudes toward a generalized issue of "government relief." It is not made clear how the frequently cited percentages of sectional and party unity have been derived, and too much space is consumed in recounting the well-understood political history of the period.

University of California, Berkeley CHARLES SELLERS

THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND AMERICAN EXPANSIONISM, 1843–1849. By *Frederick Merk*. With the collaboration of *Lois Bannister Merk*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1966. Pp. xii, 289, ix. $6.95.)

INTENDED as a companion piece to the author's *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History*, this book focuses on the relationship between American expansionism in the 1840's and the apprehension voiced by many spokesmen and statesmen, especially Polk, that European involvements in North America were a serious threat to American security. To meet that threat, advance became justifiable.

Case studies dealt with include fears of British interference in Texas before

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annexation, concern over British intrusion in Oregon, the French concept of an "American balance of power," British "eyes on California," the boundary question between Mexico and Texas, possible European intervention in the Mexican War, reactions to the 1848 Yucatán revolt, and suspected British designs on Cuba. Merk argues that Democratic leaders found it politically advantageous to defend their expansionist aims by tying them to a revived Monroe Doctrine that was limited to North America, even when evidence of its being violated consisted of flimsy, unsubstantiated charges.

Effective use of foreign and domestic political debates and press reports offers a revealing perspective on the background of many official views and successfully links both American and European diplomacy to politics and public opinion. On certain subjects Merk affirms previous investigations, such as E. D. Adams' conclusion that the British government never had any designs on California. On others Merk, in most gentlemanly fashion, challenges previous findings. He believes that Dexter Perkins' invaluable study of the Monroe Doctrine took French political oratory about an "American balance of power" too seriously, and that Justin Smith's excessively nationalistic accounts too often described events as they appeared to Polk.

Merk concedes that most national leaders worry about security in regard to territory on their country's periphery. But his restrained and persuasive argument insists that in the 1840's American statesmen embraced such worries not because they were believable but because they attracted public support for expansionism and turned it away from sectional divisions over slavery. One might submit in mild rebuttal that it is much easier in hindsight to downgrade possible threats of European interference than it was for leaders caught in the turmoil of events. Still, Whig opponents of expansion refused to believe most of the fears and suspicions. Merk believes that seldom in American history has one party clung so consistently to error and the other to truth as historical investigation now sees it.

Merk's wide-ranging studies demonstrate anew the complex nature and diverse sources of American continental expansionism. Any effort to explain it simply or categorize it neatly will not do. Expansionism can be analyzed with profit from many angles of vision; indeed, Merk's writings prove that for proper understanding it must be.

Williams College RUSSELL H. BASTERT

THE ORIGINAL JOURNALS OF HENRY SMITH TURNER: WITH STEPHEN WATTS KEARNY TO NEW MEXICO AND CALIFORNIA, 1846–1847. Edited and with an introduction by *Dwight L. Clarke*. [The American Exploration and Travel Series, Volume LI.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1966. Pp. xiii, 173. $5.00.)

THIS volume is more comprehensive than the title indicates, including as it does Turner's letters to his wife from California and the two journals that described Kearny's march to California in 1846 and his return in 1847. Each makes its

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unique contribution to the story of Kearny's army of the West, of which Turner was adjutant.

The first journal is significant because it reveals the feelings of a home-loving officer whose immediate concern was not the conquest of California, but rather personal problems that weighed heavily on him: homesickness, anxiety for his family, and doubts regarding his choice of a career. Obviously, it was never intended to circulate outside his family. The letters also derive their importance from having been written in confidence, permitting Turner to express his opinions concerning affairs in California with complete candor. He was unrestrained in his condemnation of Commodore Stockton and Colonel Frémont. He was equally critical of Kearny because of his unwillingness to arrest the headstrong Frémont, attributing Kearny's inaction to a fear of offending Senator Benton, Frémont's father-in-law.

Terse and impersonal, the 1847 journal was the official account of Kearny's return to Fort Leavenworth. The contrast in style and content between the private and the official journal would be sufficient justification for their publication, but in addition the second does give the skeletal details of a journey about which there is a dearth of information.

Dwight L. Clarke has performed his editorial task competently by clarifying obscurities without intruding on Turner's narratives. It is interesting, however, that he departs from the conventional pattern of an editorial introduction by concentrating primarily on two facets of Turner's career, both occurring after his retirement from military service: his relations with William Tecumseh Sherman, which have only an incidental connection with the journals; and Turner's attitude toward the Civil War, which has no connection whatever.

New Mexico State University IRA G. CLARK

THE CALIFORNIA GOLD DISCOVERY: SOURCES, DOCUMENTS, ACCOUNTS AND MEMOIRS RELATING TO THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD AT SUTTER'S MILL. By *Rodman W. Paul.* (Georgetown, Calif.: Talisman Press. 1966. Pp. 237. $10.00.)

RODMAN Paul, the leading modern authority on mining in the American West, has put together an impressive collection of materials bearing on the discovery of gold in California in January 1848. Despite, or rather because of, the rich accumulation of evidence, the precise details of the discovery remain obscure or in dispute leaving such questions as: was gold found on January 19 as James Marshall remembered it or on January 24 as recorded at the time in the diary of Henry Bigler; was it found in the morning or the afternoon of whatever day; was the discovery shared immediately by Marshall with his co-workers, or did a period of time separate the finding from the revelation? These questions defy definitive answers pending the possible uncovering of new evidence.

Paul assembles thirty-six "documents" sometimes consisting of several parts, as, for example, the fifth one, which contains ten contemporary letters by such Californians as Thomas O. Larkin, John A. Sutter, and Colonel Richard B. Mason. The documents are under six headings: contemporary accounts; retrospec-

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tive accounts by participants given within ten years of the discovery; reminiscences by participants long after the event; reminiscences by early visitors to the sawmill; documents relating to the later days of James Marshall and his sawmill; and documents concerning the continuing controversy, including, among others, the considered views of nineteenth-century historians Hubert Howe Bancroft and John S. Hittell and twentieth-century investigators Aubrey Neasham and Erwin G. Gudde.

In an authoritative and gracefully written introduction Paul states the problem, sets the scene, assesses the evidence, and sketches the subsequent careers of the leading figures. There are brief introductions to each section, but the documents largely speak for themselves. Between the covers of an attractive book published by Talisman Press of Georgetown, located appropriately in the Mother Lode country, there is nearly all the information the most devoted student of the gold discovery could ask for and probably far more than the average reader wants to know about the famous findings in the tailrace of Sutter's Mill on the American River.

University of Oregon EDWIN R. BINGHAM

TO CALIFORNIA AND THE SOUTH SEAS: THE DIARY OF ALBERT G. OSBUN, 1849–1851. Edited by *John Haskell Kemble.* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1966. Pp. xiii, 233. $6.50.)

AN Ohio doctor crossed the Isthmus of Panama for California in 1849, where he tried mining on the Yuba and upper Sacramento Rivers. Disillusioned within months, he returned to San Francisco and embarked on the brig *Rodolph* to buy produce in the South Pacific for the city market. Having lost money, he left for home, crossing Mexico from Acapulco to Vera Cruz and thence to New Orleans. Twenty pages of letters of the "Seeing the elephant, seeing the world" variety are included at the end of the diary, which is meticulously edited.

There is, indeed, no typical journal of the gold-rush period, but each adds its quota of unique or corroborative detail. Movement and restlessness characterized Osbun's stint in the gold fields. Within six months the company of twenty-five, which had been financed by his brother-in-law, disbanded. There was ample gold, but they had found little of it. As a result California was called a "great land of Gold & humbuggery," where real estate would never be higher than it was then, and, as one member of the company wrote home, this was not agricultural country.

Osbun gave an excellent description of the difficulties of navigation under sail on the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers. He confirmed the kaleidoscopic nature of the San Francisco of this period. He appeared to be happiest while at sea, at which the reader will wonder since he was seasick much of the time. The trip to Samoa by way of Fanning in pursuit of produce, and back past Hawaii to Pearl and Hermes for turtles, was a financial failure. They did discover the widespread missionary influence in the Samoan group and learned that the natives were no longer easily taken in by trade goods. That the diary was written for home consumption is evident. When a chief offered to trade his daughter for Osbun's

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breech-loading carbine, Osbun took six large hogs instead. Three appendixes identify persons, places, ships; adequate footnotes and an index, plus two maps, make the book a pleasure to read.

University of Hawaii CHARLES H. HUNTER

ROBERT TOOMBS OF GEORGIA. By *William Y. Thompson.* [Southern Biography Series.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1966. Pp. xiii, 281. $7.50.)

IT is hard to know how to review this work. Like the other volumes in the "Southern Biography Series," it is based upon thorough research, and it is clearly and straightforwardly written. The only life of Toombs now in print, Mr. Thompson's book will surely become the standard work on its subject.

At the same time it must be reported that the book does not add appreciably to our understanding of Georgia politics in the last century. Thompson's study reviews some of the most familiar terrain in American history, already covered by a series of impressive monographs by Ulrich B. Phillips, Richard H. Shryock, Paul Murray, Milton S. Heath, Horace Montgomery, T. Conn Bryan, C. Mildred Thompson, and Alan Conway. Perhaps we now know all that we need to know about Georgia politics in the mid-nineteenth century. If not, we cannot expect much enlightenment from Thompson, who rests his work solidly upon that of his predecessors.

Nor in most ways does Thompson's book mark an advance over the only other significant biography of Toombs, that published by Phillips in 1913. To be sure, Thompson has used some manuscript materials unavailable to Phillips, and he gives a more extensive treatment of Toombs's career during the Confederacy and of his declining decades after the war. But basically his view of Toombs is close to that of Phillips, and neither biographer has produced a satisfying interpretation of this distractingly ambiguous man. A Whig of conservative principles, Toombs was also a fire-eater, who pledged that unless northerners respected the claims of the South: ". . . I will then . . . bring my children and my constituents to the altar of liberty, and like Hamilcar, . . . swear them to eternal hostility to your foul domination." He both opposed and favored southern demands for a slave code for the territories, and he both backed Stephen A. Douglas for the Democratic nomination in 1860 and urged the Georgia delegation to bolt the Charleston Convention. An advocate of southern independence, he did all he could, first as Secretary of State and then as congressman and general, to undermine the administration of that "infernal wretch," Jefferson Davis. Years after the Civil War he proudly announced: "I am not loyal to the existing government of the United States & do not wish to be suspected of loyalty," yet he took advantage of the institutions of that government to build for himself a lucrative law practice and to become again a power in Georgia politics.

All these contradictions Thompson presents in a fair-minded way, and he endeavors to find certain fixed principles, such as devotion to conservative financial policies, that guided Toombs's conduct. In confronting Toombs's wildly unstable behavior, he is able only to offer the hypothesis that, though "basically a man of

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conservative instincts," he tended in times of excitement "to explode in any direction, after which he would assemble the pieces and resume his former character." Whether such an explanation really explains is doubtful, and Toombs's career seems to cry out for careful psychological analysis.

Granting, then, to Thompson's book its sterling, old-fashioned qualities, one asks what contribution it makes. Perhaps its chief value is to demonstrate that many subjects in American history have been exhausted unless an investigator can bring some fresh perspective or some new method of analysis to his research.

Johns Hopkins University DAVID DONALD

IMMIGRATSIIA V SSHA NAKANUNE I V PERIOD GRAZHDANSKOI VOINY (1850–1865 GG.) [Immigration into the USA before and during the Civil War (1850–1865)]. By *Sh. A. Bogina.* [Institut Etnografii im. N. N. Miklukho-Maklaia.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1965. Pp. 250.)

THIS volume is sponsored by the Institute of Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR rather than by the Institute of History, and the first paragraphs of the introduction indicate that the author is searching for an understanding of the larger processes of immigration and of the formation of nations. The body of this book is, however, quite closely concerned with the American experience in the pre-Civil War period. Apart from rather scattered use of Russian diplomatic correspondence and papers of German radicals now held by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow, this provides no new material, but the author's introduction constitutes an essay on historiography that reveals a commendable breadth of knowledge of the literature as do the footnotes to the four chapters of the text. As is the case with other Soviet works on American history of this period, a body of literature that now includes more than eighty titles, there is a tendency to rely heavily on Horace Greeley's New York *Tribune,* with citations from the *Tribune* outnumbering those from any other source. A first chapter sets the statistical framework with two extensive chapters comprising studies of the two largest immigrant groups: Irish and German. One finds, as is expected, the former considered as having been so much under the influence of the Catholic Church that revolutionary and anticlerical forces were almost stifled, while the Germans, particularly those involved with the Revolution of 1848 and most especially those among them who had some contact with Marx, exercised a liberating influence on American political life. Not only in politics, but also in education, musical life, and the theater, the Germans served to break down the "monotone pattern of life inculcated in America under the influence of Puritan traditions." A unique combination of the political and the anti-Puritanical was Joseph Weydemeyer's letter to Marx stating that the temperance movement was "an attempt of the industrial bourgeoisie to lower wages and to turn the workers into machines."

The final chapter provides a discussion of the causes of immigration, the influence of the "minor" immigrant groups, and a consideration of the role of immigration in the formation of American society. Turning to the present, the author notes that assimilation of immigrants in the United States is still continuing,

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often in a contradictory and painful fashion, but that it is historically progressive, citing Lenin's reference to it as "one of the greatest forces transforming capitalism into socialism." The reader with some previous knowledge of Soviet thought on the origin and role of nationalities will not have found this conclusion unexpected, as the student of American history will have found few new facts in Bogina's diligently compiled pages, but her study is not without interest for it is, within the Soviet frame of reference, a relatively judicious approach to both subjects.

Library of Congress ROBERT V. ALLEN

AMERICANA NORVEGICA: NORWEGIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN STUDIES. Volume I. *Sigmund Skard* and *Henry H. Wasser,* Editors. [Publications of the American Institute, University of Oslo, in cooperation with the Department of American Civilization, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, University of Pennsylvania.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1966. Pp. 340. $10.00.)

WITH this book the American Institute of the University of Oslo initiates a series (dedicated primarily to Norwegian-American relationships) containing article-length contributions to American studies. This maiden effort contains ten essays varying in subject, length, and quality. Professor Skard wrote two: "The American Studies Movement, Problems and Prospects," and "E. A. Robinson: 'Eros Turannos.'" The first rehearses the history of the movement in a fashion calculated to allay misgivings arising out of the pluralistic and pragmatic approach to American studies by American practitioners. In the second, Skard, less the historian and more the critic, participates in the current enlarged interest in Robinson's "classical" poem.

Four additional articles treat problems in literary criticism. Per Sveino re-examines Orestes Brownson's *New Views of Christianity* (1836) written before Brownson's conversion to Catholicism. Johannes Kjørven's "Hawthorne and the Significance of History" explores Hawthorne's preoccupation with the way the past functions in the life of persons living in the present. Otto Reinert contributes "Bartleby the Inscrutable: Notes on a Melville Motif"—a study of Melville's fictional treatment on the level of understatement of the existential problem. Orm Øverland examines Stephen Crane's use of the Impressionists' style and techniques. Four other pieces add diversity. Petter Christian Steenstrup in "Ludvig Kristensen Daa and the USA" summarizes American liberal influences upon nineteenth-century Norway. Einer Boyesen's "Hartvig Nissen and American Educational Reform" tells how America's nineteenth-century reformers, particularly Horace Mann, affected the thinking of Norwegian education reformers. Per E. Seyersted provides a study of the Norwegian-American author in "Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen: Outer Success, Inner Failure." Wasser concludes that Boyesen's failure to achieve self-imposed goals resulted from certain traits of character plus complications arising from efforts at self-identification following migration to America. In the final essay, Henry H. Wasser documents the thesis that literary expression during the 1930's reflected the paucity of New Deal political ideology.

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This volume testifies to the vitality of the American studies movement in Norway. It can be read profitably, by Americans, for these essays offer new perspectives on the development of American culture, giving us, among other things, a less parochial judgment of our past than is characteristic of native scholars.

Stanford University GEORGE HARMON KNOLES

LES ÉTATS-UNIS PENDANT LA GUERRE DE SÉCESSION, VUS PAR UN JOURNALISTE FRANÇAIS, ERNEST DUVERGIER DE HAURANNE. Presented by *Albert Krebs*. [Temps & continents.] (Paris: Calmann-Lévy. 1966. Pp. 310.)

THIS is an account of the eight months (June 1864–February 1865) that the young author spent in America. He traveled extensively throughout the northern states, met Lincoln and Seward, and was in Chicago for the Democratic Convention and the election. Like many European visitors he noticed our faults: segregation in New York City, harsh treatment of the Indians, the vilification of opponents by the press, and our veneration for European titles. He did not like calling Saratoga "the country" and believed Americans like to follow the herd, vacationing at the noisiest, most crowded spots. He was told of the farmers' problems, the high price demanded for the land by the railroads, and the exorbitant rates they charged. He believed that chartered monopolies should be allowed only on condition that moderate rates be charged and that the companies be regulated. At Pittsburgh he saw a huge cannon and was told that each shell fired would cost a thousand dollars. At Titusville he mentioned that oil had replaced gold and deplored the brutality with which industry devastated nature and the chaos that laissez faire had produced.

The main contribution of the book is in the author's own change of attitude. Originally quite critical, he became almost blindly laudatory. Perhaps he originally expected too much of Americans and felt let down by the facts. His reception in New York, with compulsory mass vaccination and an unsympathetic customs official, may also have caused resentment. He first sneered at presidential handshaking, but later said it was not a vain and ridiculous formality but a symbol of the democratic union of government and those governed. He defended the electoral vote as being useful to party unity, admired the American genius for organization and discipline, said that no soldiers had more initiative than ours and that there was no need to fear a Napoleon in the northern army. His concluding remarks were a hymn of praise to the United States, and he frequently contrasted it with the situation in France.

Manhattan College BROTHER BASIL LEO LEE

RICHMOND AT WAR: THE MINUTES OF THE CITY COUNCIL, 1861–1865. Edited by *Louis H. Manarin*. [Official Publication Number 17, Richmond Civil War Centennial Committee.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1966. Pp. 645. $12.50.)

THIS well-edited and illuminating source book is the official record of Richmond

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from April 5, 1861, which mentioned the high standing of the city's bonds, to April 3, 1865, when the entry read: "The city was, on this day, occupied by the United States forces, and the Council did not, therefore, meet." By the census of 1860, Richmond had a population of 38,000, including almost 11,000 slaves. As the war progressed, that population more than tripled, inflation spiraled, currency was devalued, and food was sold at a premium. The problems of a city besieged, plus its often conflicting and never-smooth relationships with three other governments whose seats were within its borders—Henrico County, the commonwealth of Virginia, and the CSA—make this volume one of the most valuable publications that has been issued by the Richmond Civil War Centennial Committee.

The social and economic problems that faced the solid but untrained citizens who manned the council offices are perhaps the most interesting parts of the book. Social welfare legislation often came into conflict with Confederate or state laws. The higher authorities legislated for broader goals; the council was faced with the daily task of feeding and protecting its people.

The book is illustrated with contemporary prints and photographs. The appendix includes the city's 1852 charter and good biographical sketches of Richmond's leading citizens and officials.

Charlottesville, Virginia WILLIAM E. STOKES, JR.

THE UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND: A HISTORY OF LAND-GRANT EDUCATION IN RHODE ISLAND. By *Herman F. Eschenbacher.* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1967. Pp. x, 548. $8.95.)

HERMAN Eschenbacher's mature understanding of the social history of American education and his painstaking research in archival and newspaper sources make this account of the precarious history of a small state university most useful. Moving beyond the institution itself, he considers the "land-grant college idea" in Rhode Island, which he rightly insists reflects the contentious history of the state itself. He is delightfully aware of the humorous aspects of his story and can evaluate college presidents skeptically, while defining their personalities and educational philosophy with precision. His focus, however, is on a vital issue: how can a state institution establish the public confidence essential to pursue distinction without irresponsible interference? Past episodes of political primitivism appear farcical in Rhode Island, but they continue elsewhere and threaten tragedy.

The author concentrates on the outside forces, largely political, that shaped the institution, beginning with the Morrill Act of 1862 that benefited Brown University for three decades, during which its offerings in agriculture and student demand for them were minimal. The Hatch Act (1887) and the second Morrill Act (1890) offered new federal subsidies just as Republican hegemony, dependent on Rhode Island's rural towns, was threatened. In this context a state agricultural college and experiment station were established at Kingston in 1887. Brown surrendered its claim to Morrill Act benefits in 1894 after a contest in the legislature and courts. Much of the later history of Rhode Island State College reflected conflicts apparent at its founding: its fate was long dependent on factious politics and narrow theory of agricultural education that was hostile both to the liberal

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arts and to engineering. Two presidents were destroyed by political cross fire. Yet the institution survived and gained physical facilities and a measure of independence from the legislature after 1939 (though this was threatened as late as 1955). In 1951 it became the University of Rhode Island, and its major educational development has taken place since then.

Eschenbacher's analysis is forthright, balanced, and perceptive, and his emphasis on external politics rather than internal development is fully justified. There is more to be learned, however, about educational utilitarianism in Rhode Island. Concern for practical education affected Brown University before Francis Wayland's reforms and undoubtedly owed much to the private associations named but not scrutinized by Eschenbacher. How, exactly, did the militant faith that inspired farm spokesmen in the 1890's become a "fantasy" and a "cliché" only a decade later?

University of Denver THEODORE R. CRANE

NEW FRONTIERS OF THE AMERICAN RECONSTRUCTION. Edited by *Harold M. Hyman*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1966. Pp. x, 156. $4.95.)

THESE five essays and comments on three of them were first presented as papers at a University of Illinois conference in 1965. Scholars who turn to this volume for a wealth of new insights on Reconstruction will be disappointed. One-fourth of the book deals with the issues of the Civil War rather than with Reconstruction; one-fourth treats events in Canada and South America that had little relevance to Reconstruction in the United States; and part of the remainder falls short of the frontiers of knowledge about this subject.

In the opening paper Harold M. Hyman explores the Civil War and Reconstruction as a constitutional crisis. The Constitution of 1860, he argues, was "a source of weakness . . . at best irrelevant, quaintly antique, and probably obsolete." Yet in the same essay Hyman maintains, somewhat inconsistently, that during the war a broad constructionist interpretation developed that found the Constitution adequate for the needs of Reconstruction. In his comment, Alfred H. Kelly argues that it was the states' rights and dual federalism *interpretations* of the Constitution before the Civil War, and not the Constitution itself, that were a source of weakness in 1860–1861. A paper by John Hope Franklin on the Negro emphasizes the positive contributions of Negro leadership during Reconstruction. In a comment that is something of a tour de force, August Meier discusses unanswered questions about the Negro in Reconstruction and suggests dozens of important topics for monographs and doctoral dissertations. Essays by Harry Bernstein and W. L. Morton on the reaction of South America and Canada to Reconstruction are negligible contributions.

C. Vann Woodward's closing paper on "Seeds of Failure in Radical Race Policy" is the best essay in the book. Woodward maintains that northern racism limited the effectiveness of Republican legislation for racial equality in the South and that Republican policy was motivated more by political expediency than humanitarian commitment. The white South exploited northern hypocrisy and

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indifference in its successful efforts to overthrow Reconstruction in the 1870's. Alfred H. Kelly treats another facet of the seeds of failure in Republican policy: the commitment of all but a handful even of the Radicals to constitutionalism, which prevented them from adopting such revolutionary programs as land reform and territorialization of the former Confederacy that might have proved the basis for a new social and racial order in the South. These are useful insights, close to the frontiers of scholarship, and the essay by Woodward and comments by Kelly and Meier yield the richest returns in this volume.

Princeton University JAMES M. MCPHERSON

GRENVILLE M. DODGE: SOLDIER, POLITICIAN, RAILROAD PIONEER. By *Stanley P. Hirshson*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 334. $10.00.)

THE typical reader will probably recall Grenville M. Dodge first as a railroad engineer and second as a Union general in the Civil War. In fact Dodge in his long life (1831–1916) was many things: soldier, railroad builder, frontiersman, Indian fighter, politician, and lobbyist. Reviewing Dodge's career, President Theodore Roosevelt once publicly told him: "I would rather have had your experience in the Civil War and have seen what you have seen and done than to be President of the United States." America and Dodge grew up together. His story is like that of many who migrated from the East seeking fame and fortune on the frontier. Born in Massachusetts and trained as a civil engineer, he moved to Council Bluffs, Iowa, where he became interested in railroad development and politics before the Civil War. His war record will be remembered as that of a "gallant and superior officer" who displayed great energy and skill in rebuilding railroads, managing espionage and intelligence reports, and helping to manipulate his own promotions from colonel to major general. Dodge's own recollections, as well as some secondary accounts, have magnified his part in the building of the Union Pacific after the Civil War, but the man did play a significant role in the construction of that line as well as other major western and southern roads. Probably Dodge's favorite occupation in his long life was "anything that made money, irrespective of whether it was ethical or permanent." He made it in railroading, land speculation, Indian trading, and politics, and died a millionaire. While a congressman from Iowa for only one term, 1867–1869, Dodge was a major leader in the Regency, which dominated Republican politics in the state for forty years.

Professor Hirshson has written the first scholarly biography of Grenville Dodge, and one that presents a fair and objective view of a complex man. Certainly it is not the laudatory treatment found in an earlier Dodge biography by Jacob R. Perkins. Hirshson does overemphasize the early career of Dodge, since roughly two-thirds of the text covers the period before 1870, when Dodge was only thirty-nine. The author has made full use of Dodge's voluminous personal papers and correspondence. The frequency of quotation from this correspondence is so great that a major fraction of the text has been written by Dodge and his correspondents rather than by Hirshson. This detailed biography, nevertheless,

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gives us an excellent picture of an energetic, many-sided man who played an important part in a fascinating period of American history.

Purdue University JOHN F. STOVER

THE TREATY OF MEDICINE LODGE: THE STORY OF THE GREAT TREATY COUNCIL AS TOLD BY EYEWITNESSES. By *Douglas C. Jones.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1966. Pp. xv, 237. $5.95.)

NINETEENTH-CENTURY American newspapers evinced considerable interest in the government's negotiations with the Indians and frequently sent correspondents with the various commissions and committees appointed to treat with the tribes. Many of the correspondents were either woefully ignorant of the Indians or inclined to sensationalize for the sake of a good story, but their accounts, often voluminous and rich in detail, are valuable supplements to the official reports upon which so much of the history of Indian affairs is based.

In this volume Douglas C. Jones, an army officer with an interest in history, tells the story of the negotiations that led to the Treaty of Medicine Lodge, primarily through the eyes of the newspapermen who were present. The negotiations were conducted by the peace commission appointed in 1867 to solve the Indian problem on the western Plains. The peace commission was a blue-ribbon group, including Senator John B. Henderson, Commissioner of Indian Affairs N. G. Taylor, and General William T. Sherman; as a result, it attracted a considerable amount of attention in the press. Altogether, nine newspapermen, including Henry M. Stanley, accompanied the peace commission to Medicine Lodge Creek in south central Kansas to report the negotiations with the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Comanches, and Kiowas. Among the newspapers represented were the New York *Herald,* the Chicago *Times,* the Chicago *Tribune,* two Cincinnati papers, and two from St. Louis. *Harper's Weekly* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly* were each represented by artists.

Although at times the correspondents, rather than the participants, are the central figures in his story, Jones generally has used his sources effectively to present a balanced account of the Medicine Lodge negotiations, enriched with descriptions of the commissioners and the leading Indian chiefs. The reporters are compared with each other, and their stories are compared with the official records. Generally speaking, the reporters appear to have been capable and conscientious. This work will be of interest to the specialist in Indian history, and, in addition, it makes a contribution to the history of American journalism.

University of Nebraska JAMES C. OLSON

THE BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY: A PARTIAL HISTORY. By *Neil M. Judd.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 139. $4.95.)

THE Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE), which in 1964 was combined with the Department of Anthropology of the US National Museum to form the Smithsonian Institution's new Office of Anthropology, deserves a historian. In the

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years following its authorization by Congress in 1879 it was the center for advanced research on the American Indian. Its successive "chiefs" or "directors," starting with John Wesley Powell, took literally the mandate of Smithsonian Secretary Joseph Henry that publication was the principal means by which new knowledge should be diffused. The bureau was never bogged down with curatorial or exhibit responsibilities. It kept a lean administrative structure. It produced 81 *Annual Reports* and 193 *Bulletins* (occasionally multivolumed in size) between 1879 and 1964.

Judd's treatment of this monumental achievement is a parody of history. His approach falls somewhere between history as chronicle and history as anecdote. Although anthropologists have sometimes considered history in this fashion, it is surprising to find a former President of the American Anthropological Association and a distinguished retired archaeologist of the staff of the US National Museum (though never a member of the BAE) willing to put his name to such a production. Repetition abounds in the three sections ("The Leaders," "The Authors," "The Publications"). Nearly half of the "book" consists of a listing of BAE publications, without significant annotation or comment. The text is dotted with words like "presumably," "doubtless," "probably," and "apparently," at points where Judd was unable or unwilling to do the simplest historical research. "It is not clear from the records," he writes, "where ['Professor' Cyrus Thomas] won the title of 'professor'" A quick glance at *Who Was Who in America* indicates that Thomas was professor of natural sciences at Southern Illinois Normal University from 1873 to 1875, before joining the BAE in 1882. The unconsciously facetious subtitle, *A Partial History,* points to other faults. In his desire to condemn Smithsonian secretaries for their treatment of the subordinate bureau he implies that the research series has been killed, whereas it has actually been amalgamated into a new series, *Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology;* furthermore, though most of the earlier volumes are out of print, as Judd notes, the Johnson Reprint Corporation, by agreement with the Smithsonian Institution Press, has undertaken to reprint them. Knowledge has not been advanced by this book. The history of the BAE remains to be done.

Smithsonian Institution WILCOMB E. WASHBURN

THE PAPERS OF WOODROW WILSON. Volume I, 1856–1880. *Arthur S. Link et al.,* Editors. [Sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and Princeton University.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1966. Pp. xxviii, 715. $15.00.)

THE advent of the first volume of the Wilson Papers heralds the beginnings of an enterprise of massive dimensions and comensurate scholarly value. In a projected forty volumes—five times as many as *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* and almost four times as many as *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*—the editors will combine the personal and the public papers and even include some incoming correspondence and other materials relating to Wilson.

The first volume, carrying Wilson from birth through his twenty-fourth year, opens with entries from the family Bible, and ends with a news item from the

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Virginia University Magazine (Jan. 1881), lamenting Wilson's withdrawal from the law school because of ill-health. Within are Wilson's own letters, correspondence from his family and friends, the entirety of a previously unknown diary transcribed from Graham shorthand, a commonplace book, marginalia, lecture notes, boyhood writings, *Princetonian* editorials, essays, and speeches. All these have been meticulously edited with helpful explanatory notes.

Through these materials, most of them never before printed, the editors present a young Wilson already demonstrating some of the characteristics that were to distinguish him as President. The youth in these pages bears scant resemblance to the caricature in some popular writings. His upbringing was in a devout, close-knit, moderately well-to-do southern family. His affectionate father, a notable Presbyterian minister keenly interested in his son's advance, sent him extensive advice, and also on occasion wrote him playful foolishness. His mother, warm and emotional, did sometimes seem a bit oversolicitous. Wilson liked to dream as a boy, elaborating several of his projects on paper: he constituted himself a British admiral and took an imaginary fleet through exciting adventures. His preference for the British system of government became intensified when he was in college, as was manifested in his writings. He was far more than a sheltered dreamer; he was ambitious, projecting with a friend a career in politics and preparing for it by polishing his writing and his public speaking. One summer he declaimed several of the great orations of the past from the pulpit of his father's empty church. He manifested his competitiveness in playing baseball, sometimes twice a day, and in his editorial exhortations to the Princeton student body to develop winning athletic teams. It was especially apparent in his participation in debating societies, both at Princeton and Virginia, where he was the dominant figure. He drafted a new constitution for the Jefferson Society at Virginia and urged its members to abandon dead hypothetical questions in order to debate current vital issues.

Wilson was making an auspicious beginning; so are the editors of his papers.

Harvard University FRANK FREIDEL

FLORENCE KELLEY: THE MAKING OF A SOCIAL PIONEER. By *Dorothy Rose Blumberg*. (New York: Augustus M. Kelley. 1966. Pp. xii, 194. $5.00.)

DURING the first third of the twentieth century Florence Kelley (1859–1932) was one of the commanding, formidable figures in American social reform. This portion of Mrs. Kelley's career has been well treated in Josephine Goldmark's biography, *Impatient Crusader* (1953). Mrs. Blumberg's book, an expansion and revision of her 1963 M.A. thesis at Columbia University, rounds out the story by concentrating on the first forty years of Kelley's life. Like Goldmark, Blumberg has relied heavily on Kelley's autobiographical sketches published in *The Survey* in 1926 and 1927. Blumberg has supplemented this material with data from the Kelley family papers, numerous other manuscript collections, and Kelley's early articles and reports. The result is an extremely useful account of the intellectual,

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social, and personal factors that shaped one reformer's thought and action in the formative part of her career.

The most original chapters are those dealing with the years 1884–1894. The author has illuminated this heretofore shadowy period in her subject's life by consulting previously unpublished letters from Florence Kelley Wischnewetzky to Friedrich Engels. These letters, the originals of which are in the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Moscow, reveal Kelley's stormy involvement with the Socialist Labor party, her attitudes toward Henry George and Lawrence Gronlund, and, of course, her relationship with Engels. The chapters also contain interesting passages from Kelley's correspondence with Richard T. Ely. She once admitted to Ely that her friends thought her criticisms "more candid than kindly" and asked him to make allowances for "an inborn brusqueness which has brought me much trouble." In 1890 she told Ely: "I find myself growing more radical as I grow older, in spite of a temperament anything but radical."

If Kelley's temperament was "anything but radical" it was because of her strong maternal and familial sense. Ironically, this feminine, conservative disposition impelled her into radical action. Perhaps the trait explains why, as she became more radical, she became less a social revolutionary and more a social reformer. Blumberg has not adopted the approach Christopher Lasch employed in analyzing the radicalism of Kelley's contemporary and friend, Jane Addams, but her book is an informative and thoughtful contribution to the growing literature on the springs of reform.

Ohio State University ROBERT H. BREMNER

PROHIBITION AND POLITICS: TURBULENT DECADES IN TENNESSEE, 1885–1920. By *Paul E. Isaac*. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press in cooperation with the Tennessee Historical Commission. 1965. Pp. xi, 301. $6.00.)

WITHIN the past few years an increased concern with the temperance movement in the United States is evident. A few books with national focus have been published, some articles have appeared, and some papers have been delivered at historical conferences. Most recently, some penetrating state studies have been published. Paul E. Isaac's book is one such study.

Isaac presents a carefully documented, chronological narrative of the political aspects of the temperance movement in Tennessee between 1885 and 1920. In presenting his array of facts, Isaac shows that the movement was in some ways distinct unto itself as a reform, but was in other ways connected to such other reforms of the time period as electoral reform, elimination of corruption in city government, and stricter and broader railroad legislation. Isaac also convincingly demonstrates the difficulty encountered in the attempts to enforce local and statewide prohibition legislation in Tennessee. In addition, he tells well the story of the political fight for national prohibition within one state. This story would have been even more complete had the author gone more deeply into the reasons why the Anti-Saloon League and the Women's Christian Temperance Union appealed to so many people.

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Isaac makes some important observations about the temperance movement in Tennessee. He sees, for instance, no "exact correlation" between fundamentalist Protestantism and prohibition. As evidence for this, he points to the "theological liberals" who were involved in the temperance reform. He observes, further, that the movement was not influenced greatly by the race question. His evidence here is that prohibition sentiment was strongest in east Tennessee, where there were few Negroes, and that some whites believed Negroes would be aided by prohibition while other whites believed Negroes would be a hindrance to prohibition. Isaac concludes that politically the movement was not necessarily part of the Progressive fight against so-called political conservatives in the border state; nor was it necessarily a rural, antiurban movement. These observations are not only important for the temperance movement in one locale; they also put Isaac's study in a larger, national focus. Unfortunately, however, the observations came late in the book and are not fully substantiated.

In so far as he tells a rather narrow story of political developments, Isaac has written a good and valuable book.

City College of New York NORTON MEZVINSKY

A TOWER IN BABEL: A HISTORY OF BROADCASTING IN THE UNITED STATES. Volume I, TO 1933. By *Erik Barnouw*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. 344. $8.50.)

FORTUNATELY for the scholar diligently searching out some rational pattern, some rhyme or reason to the extraordinary growth of American broadcasting, this is not an angry, muckraking book; nor is it still another contrived defense of an area of national life that so often finds itself attacked today. Looking back neither in anger nor apology, Erik Barnouw chronicles as accurately as possible the steps by which "the black box" became the dominant force it is in twentieth-century America. From Bell, Marconi, and Popov, this too thin volume takes us to Franklin D. Roosevelt's first fireside chat in 1933; two additional volumes to come will trace further how like topsy radio, then television, just grew.

But even without an intention to scold or berate, Barnouw tells a story that in itself will appear to some as perhaps American broadcasting's most severe indictment. One tends at first to blame the author: Why, one asks, does he tantalize us with only an occasional glimpse into the early inner workings of the stations themselves? Why are so few pages given to anecdotal accounts of the men and women who in community after community built American radio out of spit and polish? True, Amos and Andy are here in fascinating detail, but why for a few pages only, and why are the creation and impact of other broadcast programs and personalities that became so integral a part of our everyday lives almost totally ignored?

Why, indeed—simply because Barnouw correctly sees that the *real* story of American broadcasting is not theirs, but rather that of the giant industrial combinations that all too quickly came to dominate the airwaves: General Electric, American Telephone and Telegraph, Westinghouse, and the Radio Corporation of

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America. For Barnouw is a realist, not a sentimentalist; he deals with power, not with puppets. And if he has written a pre-eminently financial, rather than cultural, history, it is because he has kept his scholarly eye on the main chance precisely as it was quickly recognized and seized upon by the business masters of American broadcasting. Thus this volume becomes a story not of creativity and public service, but rather of conflict and accommodation among great economic power blocs; it becomes, too, not the story of broadcasting, meaning communications, but merely the odyssey of still another American industry with objectives, practices, and leadership no better and no worse than average. And Barnouw proves to be a fine business historian.

Rutgers University RICHARD D. HEFFNER

PEARY: THE EXPLORER AND THE MAN. By *John Edward Weems*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1967. Pp. ix, 362. $6.95.)

COURAGE, tenacity, hardihood, ingenuity, and foresight characterized the great Arctic explorer, Robert Edwin Peary. In the half century since his death the only other biography to make use of Peary's substantial personal files is one for young people. While Peary's accomplishments in exploration are well known, one gains a fuller and more sympathetic view of his personality. Overprotected as a child by his widowed mother, he later overcame his isolation by cultivating the social graces. During his later years the world saw a grizzled, proud, and irascible man, offended that his fame had been diminished by what he believed a lie. In private he could still be a relaxed and delightful companion.

Weems has produced the best available account of Peary's youth, education, and short career in civil engineering. One marks his early interest in reaching the North Pole as a road to fame, influence, and possibly fortune. Personal letters reflect poignantly the many crises of Peary's life. The problems of Josephine Diebitsch Peary furnish a constant countertheme: a lone mother's burdens, a wife's anxieties, a manager's fund raising efforts. The result is a more fully rounded biography than its predecessors. Many hitherto partially explained incidents are clarified.

The controversy with Dr. Frederick E. Cook as to which man was "discoverer" of the Pole was discussed by the author in his *Race for the Pole* (1960). It is here given summary treatment with fresh documentation. To quote Peter Freuchen, "Cook was a liar and a gentleman. Peary was neither." We also understand better the late-appearing rancor of the Negro, Matthew Henson, despite Peary's assistance after 1909.

Peary early appreciated the military potential of aviation, and during World War I he became a leader in its cause. The Second World War has made clearer the depth of his insights.

Well written and richly documented, the volume further illuminates Peary's personality and seizes on the essentials of the long years of exploration. It is likely to remain the definitive biography of Peary.

Stanislaus State College JOHN E. CASWELL

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CATHOLIC INFLUENCE ON AMERICAN COLONIAL POLICIES, 1898–1904. By *Frank T. Reuter*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 185. $6.00.)

WHEN the United States took over the supervision of the former Spanish territories after the Spanish-American War, the United States government really replaced an administration where the Church and state had been united. Neither Catholics nor non-Catholics in the United States wanted this union of Church and state to be continued, but there were considerable differences of opinion about the details of the separation that should take place. Frank Reuter makes it quite clear that, at the time, there were serious charges made against some of the Spanish religious that were too quickly accepted by the American officials, despite Catholic influence. In this sense "Catholic influence" includes the popular reaction through the Catholic press and the official actions of the hierarchy, but these were not always in agreement.

Reuter shows that President McKinley was not fearful of Catholic reaction and did not appoint a Catholic to the Philippine Commission. President Roosevelt, on the other hand, recognized Catholic influence both by consulting prominent Catholics, especially such members of the hierarchy as Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland, and by putting some Catholics in the agencies dealing with these newly acquired Spanish possessions. The attempt of Bishop McFaul of Trenton to rally Catholic opinion to better the treatment of Catholics in these islands met with coolness from Archbishop Ireland. As a matter of fact, the American Catholic hierarchy was just finishing a period of serious division over the question of Americanism and the Americanization of the foreign-language immigrants. Reuter is careful not to imply that the decisions of the American government were the results of Catholic interference. He is puzzled by the lack of unity among the Catholic prelates.

The influence of Catholics is outlined as an undefinable force of public opinion that in time led such men as Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft to deal carefully with the Church in the settling of the financial and land problems resulting from the acceptance of these Spanish territories.

One document Reuter does not cite that has bearing on the friars is the printed but suppressed *Philippine Insurrection Records* by John Rogers Meigs Taylor, which contradicts many of the grossest charges against the friars. Nevertheless, Reuter has digested in admirable form the other sources, printed and documentary, that pertain to his story.

University of Notre Dame THOMAS T. MCAVOY, C.S.C.

JOSEPHUS DANIELS: THE SMALL-D DEMOCRAT. By *Joseph L. Morrison*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1966. Pp. ix, 316. $7.50.)

THE fact that Josephus Daniels himself wrote five copious volumes of memoirs has undoubtedly discouraged others from writing his biography, but Professor Morrison has braved the competition, immersed himself in the Daniels Papers (half a million items in the Library of Congress), utilized the files of Jonathan

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Daniels, and interviewed surviving members of the family ("I am glad to acknowledge that none of the Danielses ever so much as hinted at a directed verdict biographically speaking"). The result is an honest, competent, and sensible biography of a man who was a significant editor, an unexpectedly effective Secretary of the Navy, a valuable, if unconventional, ambassador to Mexico, and a faithful Democrat.

In its treatment of all these careers, this book is weakest on Daniels as a North Carolina editor, which is surprising since the author is a professor of journalism at Chapel Hill. The story of the Raleigh *News and Observer* is an important chapter in the history of American newspapers, and one would like to have known more about Daniels' editorial and business methods, his influence, if any, on southern journalism, and his relations with other editors and publishers of his day, such as White, Cobb, Scripps, Bingham, and Dabney.

The book is very good indeed on its subject's private life, offering an excellent portrait of what must have been a very good and winning man. In view, however, of the subtitle, a more extended analysis of the evolving attitude of this "small-d democrat" toward the Negroes would have been in order. The book is also cogent on Daniels' political career and sensitive on his relations with Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, though one might have wished for a more thoughtful placement of Daniels within the various party currents. He was a Bryanite who nonetheless opposed antievolution laws and favored a Catholic (Thomas Walsh, not Smith) for the presidential nomination in 1924, as he was one of the few Wilsonians to make a happy and wholehearted adjustment to the New Deal. On Daniels' diplomatic career, Morrison is concise and intelligent, if he leaves it something of a mystery why Daniels sought the ambassadorship to Mexico.

Conciseness, indeed, is the main trouble with the book. If Daniels himself wrote five long volumes, the University of North Carolina Press could have permitted Morrison more than 275 pages of text. Daniels himself deserves more than this, and it may be a long time before another scholar goes through those half-million items. But, within these limits, Morrison has written a discriminating and useful book.

City University of New York ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

THE AMERICAN REVISIONISTS: THE LESSONS OF INTERVENTION IN WORLD WAR I. By *Warren I. Cohen.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 252. $7.95.)

AMERICAN revisionism began as a revolt of the alienated intellectuals, became a mass movement in the 1930's, and lost caste with the onset of the second war against Germany. Professor Cohen has deftly analyzed a historical approach that once captivated historians, formed part of the intellectual outlook of the interwar generation, and influenced for a season the foreign policy of the United States. The author takes an aseptic view of his subject; he has left to others the task of correcting the errors of the revisionists and has contented himself with identifying the axioms they held and the uses to which they put their findings.

While this monograph is focused on Barnes, Beard, Grattan, Millis, and

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Tansill, the minor revisionists are not neglected. The study rests upon an intensive analysis of the seminal works of the five men, on everything else they wrote or said on the subject, the personal letters of Barnes and Grattan, and dialogues, written and oral, between the author and his subjects.

As early as 1924 the veteran historian Albert Bushnell Hart pointed out that, if the revisionists were right about war guilt in 1914, the profession would have to reassess its judgment on American intervention. Hence Cohen had to begin with the *Kriegsschuldfrage* and trace it in this country until it was overshadowed by the debate over our own part in the war. The book's organization is chronological rather than topical, but inasmuch as the major revisionists (except Tansill) kept writing and updating their views, there is considerable backtracking that makes for difficult reading.

Several points of interest merit special attention. The revisionists disagreed among themselves almost as much as they did with the conventional historians. A meticulous examination of their writings reveals no consensus on the weight to be assigned economic factors, British propaganda, submarine outrages, or whether the national interest had justified intervention. Millis later explained that he had not argued that intervention was not justified, but had felt that it had been based on reasons that vitiated our wartime sacrifices.

It is significant that Millis alone of the group favored intervention during the "Great Debate" of 1939–1941. The others were undeviating noninterventionists who championed the cause of America First. One of the most fascinating parts of this study is the detailed activities of these revisionists as they vainly tried to persuade the country to profit from the lessons of history and not go off on another crusade for global democracy. Millis aside, these writers, long before 1939, concluded that Roosevelt was hell-bent on repeating the mistakes of Wilson. And so, the seeds of Second World War revisionism were sown at a time when the United States was still officially committed to nonentanglement. Barnes, Beard, and Tansill were to pioneer this new revisionism, but history stubbornly refused to repeat itself, and their second effort failed by far to equal the widespread impact of their initial performance.

State University of New York, Buffalo SELIG ADLER

THE TIME BETWEEN THE WARS: ARMISTICE TO PEARL HARBOR. By *Jonathan Daniels*. [Mainstream of America Series.] (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1966. Pp. viii, 372. $6.50.)

JONATHAN Daniels, who reported from Washington's press gallery during the 1920's and was later a trusted administrative assistant and press secretary to FDR, is in the fortunate position of being able to blend memoir with less personal historical sources to survey those much-interpreted years between the two world wars. The volume is without footnotes (although there are many quotations and a quite satisfactory bibliography) and is written in a jimcracky style that falls uncomfortably between history and journalism. It is, in short, a "popular" history clearly intended for a lay audience. Although such books are of limited value to the professional historian, they have served to catch the imagination of the

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nonprofessional and to cultivate a sense of history where there might otherwise be none. Gerald W. Johnson, Frederick Lewis Allen, Jim Bishop, and Bruce Catton, as well as Daniels, have made a significant contribution to historical writing. Seldom has it been in any dramatic, revisionist sense, but they do establish relevance.

This book, however, does popular histories some disservice by reducing their credibility. When one publishes without footnotes, one tacitly asks his reader for trust; it must be assumed that credible sources are used and used judiciously. But Daniels attributes to his sources conclusions that are unwarranted, and he interprets rather loosely, to say the least. A case in point is the author's treatment of the alleged "affair" between Lucy Mercer Rutherford and President Franklin Roosevelt. Using out-of-context tidbits from *FDR: His Personal Letters, 1905–1928,* edited by Elliott Roosevelt (1948), he describes a trip up the Potomac on the naval yacht *Sylph* as "outings with Lucy" to establish an unseemly liaison. Left unsaid was the fact that the "outing" was an official naval inspection trip and that Lucy Mercer was in the company of Nigel Law, Third Secretary of the British embassy in Washington. Also on board were Rear Admiral Cary T. Grayson, medical director of the navy, Charles A. Munn, an old Harvard friend, and their wives. A more than casual checking turned up many interpretations that do violence to the original sources, but space limitations here preclude their description. Suffice it to say the book needs to be read analytically. If it has a value as history, it is a negative one: *The Time between the Wars* is an interesting study of how a predisposed author can make things come out his way.

Southampton College ROBERT J. COOKE

PAUL V. McNUTT: PORTRAIT OF A HOOSIER STATESMAN. By *I. George Blake.* (Indianapolis: Central Publishing Company. 1966. Pp. xv, 399. $5.95.)

THIS book will afford a good general knowledge of Paul V. McNutt's attainments, but it is not the critical evaluation that one would like to see. The emphasis is such that many significant questions are not answered, even though the author has done some good research in the McNutt Collection at Indiana University. McNutt, a handsome, ambitious law professor, entered the world of politics through his work in the American Legion organization of the 1920's. In 1928 he became national commander, while also serving as dean of the law school at Indiana University. He went on in 1933 to become Democratic governor of Indiana and to put into effect a "little New Deal." In 1937 he entered the federal government, receiving thereafter a series of appointments. He served as high commissioner to the Philippines, head of the new Federal Security Administration (1939–1945), and wartime chairman of the National Manpower Commission. He concluded his public service by returning to the Philippines as high commissioner in 1945 and by representing the United States at Independence Day ceremonies for the new nation (July 4, 1946); he continued briefly as the first ambassador from his country to the Philippines. In one respect, McNutt had a frustrating career. He had aimed for the highest elective office in the land and

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made a particularly determined try for it in 1938–1940. The worsening international situation left him with diminished prospects, and Franklin D. Roosevelt finally ruled him out in 1940, even as a possibility for the vice-presidency.

Without question, McNutt had a fine career, and perhaps he deserves all the praise in this book. Doubts remain, however. One of the author's techniques is to quote extensively from McNutt and his supporters and also from the critics, thus attaining a certain balance. But this is also a method of avoiding interpretation. At the end, when a final assessment seems essential, the author concludes with two pages of eulogy from the president of Indiana University, who spoke at the funeral in 1955. In this and other respects, the book falls short of its possibilities.

University of Illinois J. Leonard Bates

THE FIRST NEW DEAL. By *Raymond Moley*. With the assistance of *Elliot A. Rosen*. Foreword by *Frank Freidel*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1966. Pp. xxiii, 577. $12.50.)

Except for FDR himself, no one was closer to the early New Deal than Raymond Moley. The exception is important, but Moley appears to forget it more frequently after thirty-four years than he did in his perceptive critique, *After Seven Years*. Although historian Elliot Rosen must be credited with much of the work, this is actually Moley's New Deal, and it departs from that of other observers. It is not that things are wrongly or violently stated; Moley has always been careful about facts. And Frank Freidel states in his warm and interesting introduction that "Those seeking a whiff of gunpowder or a far-off aroma of scandal may be disappointed." The problem is lack of clear purpose. Moley insists that his book is merely a memoir. The heavy reliance upon his own files and the defensive pleading that mar the story make this clear. Yet the narrative has been pushed into areas that he must approach through rumor and other people's research. Gap-filling chapters like those on TVA, agriculture, and the NRA must be classed as indifferent history, flawed by the sharp views of the author and by only fragmentary use of the scholarly literature. Incidentally, one begins to wonder how much of our devotion to the concept of the two New Deals may have grown from our heavy reliance upon the writing of Moley, whose own career made it natural for him to see such a distinction.

Moley's contribution to our picture of the period from November 1932 through August 1933 proceeds from the use of his rich private papers. He does add significant detail to the outlines of the postelection negotiations between Hoover and Roosevelt, of the London Conference, the banking crisis, and some other matters that he sketched over thirty years ago. There are good stories here, with flashes of insight and much unconscious revelation of Moley himself. His sketches of personalities are stimulating. But, on the whole, the book is disappointing. Having inveighed against oversimplification, he falls much too frequently into the presumption that colleagues who disagreed with him acted from a personal rage to destroy him. There are infelicities of style; the documentation is weak. Instead of mastering and using the secondary literature, Moley quarrels fretfully with bits and pieces of it. The book lacks the balance and scope of history, the discipline

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and sense of proportion of great memoir. Like oral history interviews, his story makes available much valuable raw material, but the reader must provide caution, critique, and context.

University of Vermont ALFRED B. ROLLINS, JR.

THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE. By *Arthur H. Landis*. (New York: Citadel Press. 1967. Pp. xx, 677. $10.00.)

THIS massive volume mostly consists of a detailed chronicle of the military activities of the American volunteers who fought for the popular front cause in the Spanish Civil War. Though the dust jacket claims it to be "the definitive history," this is scarcely history at all, but a mere recital of events, crammed with lengthy quotations from participants and interspersed with partisan political polemics. Since most surviving Republican Army records were captured by the opposing forces, definitive military study of either side will probably have to await opening of the archives of the Spanish Ministry of War.

Mr. Landis has made an extensive study of the published literature and of the testimony and materials offered by the surviving veterans of the Lincoln Brigade (which, as he points out, was not really a brigade, but a battalion). In so far as I can judge, nearly all the details on the military affairs of the Lincoln volunteers are either accurate or at least accurately cited or quoted from sources that are largely if not entirely of a primary nature. Moreover, the author has tried, not unsuccessfully, to bring out the pathos of the war, and some sections are genuinely moving.

Whenever the book touches on politics, it becomes completely unreliable. Landis appears to be almost entirely ignorant of Spanish history and public affairs and, for that matter, seems uncomfortable with the language, as numerous petty errors attest, but this has not deterred him from obiter dicta on Spanish problems. He is much freer in spewing invective on the Spanish Nationalists than in explaining the relationship of the Comintern to the Lincoln recruits, and he does not substantiate his contentions that the Lincoln volunteers were "non-Communists in their majority" and that the startling growth of the Spanish Communist party was entirely independent of the Soviet Union. He still follows the hoary Stalinist line regarding the independently Marxist POUM. The non-Communist popular front leaders, who in 1939 finally decided to put an end to the carnage, he accuses of "treason," and he tries to impugn the "socialist" credentials of the most honest and consistent of the Spanish Leftist leaders, Julián Besteiro. It is symptomatic that he ignores altogether the major works on Spanish Communism and the Soviet Union by Burnett Bolloten and David T. Cattell. The unpublished dissertation of Robert A. Rosenstone, "The Men of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion: Soldiers and Veterans, 1937–1965," provides a more reliable analysis of the political background of the American volunteers, and that of Robert Plumb, "Soviet Participation in the Spanish Civil War," explains the relationship of the Soviet Union much more accurately.

Near the end of his book, Landis looks forward to a time of "open archives

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and simple truths." With or without open archives, there are few "simple truths," but simplistic books, such as this one, are far too numerous.

University of California, Los Angeles STANLEY G. PAYNE

REORGANIZING ROOSEVELT'S GOVERNMENT: THE CONTROVERSY OVER EXECUTIVE REORGANIZATION, 1936–1939. By *Richard Polenberg*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 275. $5.95.)

HOWEVER freakish American political behavior at times may seem today, one enters a whole new world of the irrational in going back twenty years to the fight over Franklin D. Roosevelt's reorganization proposals of 1937–1938. How the President's rather sober, almost conventional plan to strengthen and focus responsibility in the disheveled executive establishment ran into fanatical resistance is the theme of this trenchant and well-researched volume. The account is of special interest to academics, for several political scientists, or public administrationists, were the immediate source of proposals for federal reorganization.

The aims were to strengthen the executive office, to regroup federal agencies in a more coherent departmental framework, and to improve staff services, especially budgeting, personnel, and planning. The President's proposals, watered down from the sweeping recommendations of the Brownlow committee on administrative management, provoked counterattacks from economic and religious interests, labor and business groups, federal agencies fearing loss of independence, and various conservative groups upholding "constitutional government" and fearing "one-man rule." Not only line agencies but members of Roosevelt's own staff deserted him on reorganization. Roosevelt, his fingers burned in the court reform struggle, did not fight to the bitter end. He salvaged what he could in far milder reorganization measures in 1939.

In retrospect Roosevelt's role in reorganization is enigmatic, like many of his other political performances. While supporting the Brownlow committee's orthodox doctrines of executive responsibility and administrative unification, in practice he often favored agency competition over unity and incrementalism over planning. He was unusually frank in admitting that the main purpose of reorganization was not economy but better management. If the author fails to explain Roosevelt's odd mixture of orthodox administration, political administration, and personal improvisation, he is no less successful than other analysts of Roosevelt's intellectual habits.

Mr. Polenberg focuses mainly on the immediate origins of reorganization, the legislative manhandling of it, and the hostile political forces. Although he notes briefly earlier presidential attempts at reform, he does not set his account in a wide historical and theoretical framework. Running through our national development has been a strand of Hamiltonian ideas of executive concentration, coordination, and power, often in competition with Jeffersonian concepts of constitutional fragmentation, social pluralism, and administrative dispersion. The reorganization fight was a dramatic struggle in this old story. This volume will be a vital con-

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tribution to the fuller account that some historian, hopefully Polenberg, will produce.

Williams College JAMES MACGREGOR BURNS

VITO MARCANTONIO, RADICAL IN CONGRESS. By *Alan Schaffer*. [Men and Movements.] ([Syracuse, N. Y.:] Syracuse University Press. 1966. Pp. ix, 256. $6.50.)

ONLY a fraction of Vito Marcantonio's papers touch on his personal life. Alan Schaffer has chosen, therefore, to write not a biography of his subject but a study of his fourteen-year congressional career in the 1930's and 1940's. Even this adds up to more space than most congressmen receive from historians. But "Marc" was special. Allied by 1938 with the Communists, who had infiltrated New York's American Labor party, Marcantonio was the outstanding fellow traveler on Capitol Hill during the Roosevelt-Truman era.

The kind of radicalism he represented is one of Schaffer's major themes. Marcantonio stood domestically to the Left of the New and the Fair Deal on such issues as relief, unemployment, taxing, housing, immigration, social security, Communists in government, and civil rights. In foreign affairs he first opposed America's entering World War II, then reversed himself after Germany's invasion of Russia "changed the character of the war." No one was surprised when, at the outset of the cold war, he joined the Wallace movement of 1948. At all times he viewed America—indeed the world—as a vast East Harlem.

And here we touch Schaffer's second major theme. How did Marcantonio win election seven times in a district predominantly Catholic and immigrant? The author's answer is that issue politics meant very little to the Italians and Puerto Ricans who voted for "Marc." He was not only the neighborhood boy who put East Harlem on the map but also the creator of a local machine that looked after the personal needs of constituents in ways that would have won admiration from even a George Washington Plunkitt. East Harlem's radical "boss" finally fell, in 1950, only after the Albany legislature gerrymandered his district and the Democrats and Republicans ran a Fusion candidate against him.

All this comes through convincingly in a book both sympathetic and critical. Schaffer writes with extraordinary control, ease, clarity, and grace. He ignores, however, the Italian- and Spanish-language newspapers that Marcantonio's constituents read. What is equally surprising, he has failed to pinpoint Marcantonio's support by analyzing the official election returns by precinct. With the exception of these two defects, Shaffer has made a useful contribution to our knowledge of an aspect of the American political Left.

University of Chicago ARTHUR MANN

AND PROMISES TO KEEP: THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE, 1938–1948. By *Thomas A. Krueger*. (Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 218. $6.50.)

FOR a short time, in the 1930's, some southerners, and more northerners, thought

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that the New Deal might at last push and pull the South into the American mainstream. During the preceding seventy years a succession of hopes and efforts to do just that had failed with depressing regularity. In 1938, inspired by the National Emergency Council's famous *Report on the Economic Conditions of the South,* a small band of southern liberals, with some important northern support, launched the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Its declared purpose was to serve as the rallying ground for rural and industrial laborers, poor whites and Negroes, intellectuals, and other "progressives" to promote New Deal aspirations in the South.

Professor Krueger's book is a detailed account of that organization's brief life. Like a Greek tragedy, the history of the Southern Conference was one of foredoomed failure. The masses never flocked to its standard, charges of Communist domination vitiated what strength it had, and finally its leaders fell out among themselves.

Unfortunately, what could have been an engrossing story, one that must be told, is written in a pedestrian style, not enlivened by the author's occasional efforts to brighten the style. Minor details are supplied endlessly when not needed or wanted, words are sometimes put to strange uses, and proofreading seems to have been spurned.

Only in the chapter on the Communist charges does the book come alive. There, after discussing the charges of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Krueger carefully sifts the evidence and finds the committee wanting. The conference, he concludes, was not in any way under Communist control: rather, it was "a popular front."

With this conclusion any unjaundiced observer will agree. The conference survives today as the Southern Conference Educational Fund, which carries on quiet but significant work for racial equality and southern contemporaneity. One can only hope, despite the foreboding of experience, that its efforts will bear fruit.

Krueger's is not the book on the Southern Conference for Human Welfare that has been awaited. This caveat, however, should not deter anyone interested in the South from reading the volume. It can be studied with profit, and we can hope that its author will soon give us the definitive book that is needed. His meticulous research and the aforementioned chapter on the Red smear indicate that this trust is warranted.

Tulane University MILTON D. SPEIZMAN

F.D.R.'s UNDECLARED WAR, 1939 TO 1941. By *T. R. Fehrenbach.* (New York: David McKay Company. 1967. Pp. 344. $6.50.)

MR. Fehrenbach's title might suggest that the author has taken a fresh look at the literature on America's entry into the war and has come up with new evidence or at least a new interpretation of the events of 1939–1941. Such is not the case. There is little novelty either in the historical materials covered or in the interpretation placed upon them.

This book is essentially a popularized study of the relation between President Roosevelt's policies and American public opinion from the outbreak of the war in

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Europe to Pearl Harbor when the tension between the two was finally broken. The author is, by and large, sympathetic to the problems FDR faced in trying to achieve a national consensus in favor of American intervention on the Allied side. He dismisses as altogether groundless the charge that the undeclared war was a "President's War" while making clear to the reader the tortuous courses FDR felt compelled to follow to defend what he and Fehrenbach agree was nothing less than the security of the United States. The author is critical of the incapacity of so many members of Congress and a majority of the public to grasp what was at stake for them in the European war. He is equally critical of Roosevelt's failure to speak out clearly and to educate the American people on the nature of the Axis threat instead of waiting for a consensus that never came until the bombs fell on Pearl Harbor. On the other hand, he does not minimize the real obstacles that the President confronted in overcoming the tremendous reluctance of the Congress and the people to enter the war voluntarily.

All of this is, of course, familiar ground for historians who are acquainted with the literature of the subject. The volume will be useful, however, to nonspecialists who will find in it a reasoned defense of the idea of the national interest and a national strategy, as well as a warning that while consensus may be highly desirable in domestic politics, it is not always the *sine qua non* of a prudent foreign policy. Or, as Fehrenbach himself writes: "Government by consent could not be translated forever to mean government by the Gallup Poll."

Washington, D. C. S. Everett Gleason

MANHATTAN PROJECT: THE UNTOLD STORY OF THE MAKING OF THE ATOMIC BOMB. By *Stephane Groueff*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1967. Pp. xii, 372. $6.95.)

One of the most remarkable scientific and technological stories of the twentieth century was the race for nuclear weapons that in about three years converted some theoretical insights and a small amount of experimental data into the three bombs exploded in the summer of 1945. This book attempts to "reconstruct this fabulous tale of human ingenuity and determination."

Stephane Groueff is a journalist—the New York bureau chief for Paris *Match*—and his book project was sponsored by *Reader's Digest*. His approach, consequently, is that of a journalist. Groueff's research is based heavily on interviews and de-emphasizes more orthodox historical materials; his acknowledgments include interviews with more than 170 people, while his brief bibliography includes only 17 items, most of them standard secondary accounts. He is less interested in an analysis of the scientific problems involved in the Manhattan Project than in the human and technological barriers to the final production of a nuclear weapon. The writing is impressionistic, is filled with dialogue (there is no annotation), and attempts to capture some of the drama of the hectic wartime search. There are numerous biographical vignettes of the dramatis personae of the project. The author's heroes are General Groves and the executives and engineers of the various firms that built and operated Oak Ridge and Hanford; to some degree he

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neglects, if he does not actually denigrate, the role of the scientists. All in all, this book belongs to the "gee whizz" school of technological and industrial history.

Yet the volume is not without merit. The prose is always readable, frequently lively, occasionally dramatic. The facts appear to be generally sound if the reader keeps in mind the author's heavy dependence on interviews and views some of the material, particularly dialogue, skeptically. While there is no systematic account of either the scientific or the technological aspects of the development of the first bombs, many of the accounts of particular technical problems are interesting. Most important, Groueff has for the first time given due recognition to some of the minor figures, particularly engineers and technicians, and has preserved in his pages much information that would otherwise perish with the participants or lie forever buried in the archives. This book will not displace the authoritative volume of Hewlett and Anderson or General Groves's own memoirs. But it does supplement their stories in some respects.

State University of New York, Albany KENDALL BIRR

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1944. Volume I, GENERAL. [Department of State Publication 8138.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1966. Pp. vi, 1554. $5.75.)

THIS important volume in the Department of State's magisterial series contains documents relating to the pivotal year 1944, when the Allied leaders had to decide on plans for the postwar world. The student of American diplomacy and foreign policy—the generalist and the specialist—will find here rich source material. This well-edited large collection high-lights the diversity among the Allies and the transitional change in the character of the operations and personnel in the Department of State. As postwar plans assumed greater prominence in Washington, the economic and political planners began to emerge from relative obscurity and gained positions of influence.

The first half of this volume concerns the European Advisory Commission that was established by the Tripartite Conference of Foreign Ministers at Moscow in the fall of 1943. As the war neared a victorious end, diverse views as to the jurisdiction, scope, and functions of the commission evolved. What should the instrument of surrender for Germany and its satellites contain? What should be the terms and conditions imposed on a defeated Germany? Should France and other liberated nations be invited to membership in the commission? On these questions and many more the Allies differed. The second half of the volume consists of materials relating to the Dumbarton Oaks Conferences and reactions to the recommended proposals, preparations for a "United Nations" conference, problems of expellees, German war crimes, Allied declarations and warnings regarding Nazi atrocities.

Historians, here and abroad, will welcome this new addition to the *Foreign Relations* series. Although no other government is as quick to publish its documents, it is nevertheless unfortunate that the hope of the Historical Office of the Department of State to publish volumes fifteen years after the event is not being fulfilled because of lack of funds. The gap is now twenty-two years. Would it not

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be better to forego or diminish the ever-increasing flow of the department's pamphlets, brochures, extracts of speeches—most of them of dubious scholarly importance—and advance the series to the promised fifteen-year period?

University of Connecticut LOUIS L. GERSON

FARM POLICIES AND POLITICS IN THE TRUMAN YEARS. By *Allen J. Matusow*. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LXXX.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. 267. $7.50.)

THIS book reviews the major agricultural policy decisions of the Truman administration in terms of their relationship to the problems and politics of postwar agriculture. The author relies principally on the records of the Department of Agriculture, President Truman's official and personal papers, the files of Secretaries of Agriculture Clinton Anderson and Charles Brannan, plus selected congressional hearings and debates. Wide ranging and well written, this study analyzes the assumptions and priorities of the administration's responses to the postwar European famine, the Korean War, domestic concerns over surplus-inflation-depression, and the 1948 and 1952 presidential campaigns.

The study's focus, if presumably presidential, centers on the Department of Agriculture. This detailed, descriptive analysis provides real insights into the formulation and development of agricultural domestic and foreign policy. Its weaknesses stem from Professor Matusow's descriptive, noninterpretive approach, his failure to relate departmental decisions either to presidential decision making or congressional politics or to ask basic questions about Truman's role and the factors explaining the changed climate of domestic politics, and, most importantly, to the absence of a concluding chapter. The resulting account is both illuminating and frustrating. The picture that emerges is of an inept, parochial, partisan administration that responded, but did not initiate, that was pragmatic, not principled, and that uncritically followed the lead of the Secretary of Agriculture whether conservative (Anderson) or liberal (Brannan).

Because Matusow foregoes a concluding chapter I can only conjecture whether Truman was in fact a President who depended on his advisers or whether Matusow was unable to document Truman's role because of restrictions on Truman's official papers or his failure to review the papers of the White House staff. Again, because of this absence, the study lacks focus and development. An understated critical account emerges of the Truman administration's partisan priorities, limited vision, and rhetorical liberalism. The author should have summarized and focused on the policies and decisions of the Truman years.

This is a worthwhile but not definitive study, imperative for the student of postwar American politics. Matusow's work is representative of an emerging, more critical, examination of the Truman presidency that is less willing to accept the clichés either of the cold war or the partisan justifications offered by older historians directly involved in the politics of this crucial postwar period.

Wayne State University ATHAN THEOHARIS

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BUILDING CANADA: AN ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF CANADIAN LIFE. By *Alan Gowans.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. xx, 412. $15.95.)

It is most appropriate when the eyes of a considerable segment of the architectural community are turned toward the Montreal World's Fair, "Expo 67," to have this compendium of Canadian architecture appear to place the exposition in historical perspective. Many of the fair's dramatic, contemporaneous buildings are, like the great majority of Canadian buildings before them, essentially inspired from abroad, but among them are modern Canadian architects' solutions to problems common to all architects today.

The author of *Building Canada* tells us with clear-eyed candor that Canadian buildings, while often handsome and highly successful in expressing the architectural trends of the several periods, have rarely been original in conception. He points out, however, that the last decade has witnessed a maturing of Canadian architecture, which is now a living part of the Western tradition.

In *Building Canada,* Alan Gowans has rewritten and expanded his earlier *Looking at Architecture in Canada* (1958), making use of the suggestions of those who reviewed that pioneering study. He says in the preface to the first book, also quoted in the second, that he has considered the subject as the interaction of four sets of patterns: the pattern of man's stages of control of his environment; the pattern of national tradition—French, English, Canadian; the pattern of changing beliefs about architecture versus mere building; and the pattern of successive historical traditions—medieval, classical, Victorian, twentieth-century.

The results are expressed in a thoughtful, well-organized series of essays giving a lucid and logical treatment of the complicated story of conflicting and overlapping cultures and styles from the late-surviving Stone Age to, but not including, "Expo 67." Gowans lavishes particularly loving care on the nineteenth century, the period richest in the variety of architectural forms.

The choice of illustrations is excellent, and the quality of reproduction of the halftones on body stock, that is, not on glazed or coated paper, is remarkable and a good omen for keeping production costs and therefore book prices within reason. The reader's difficulties inherent in lumping the illustrations together at the back of the book are largely mitigated by the use of detailed explanatory captions.

University of Virginia J. D. Forbes

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF NEWFOUNDLAND, 1832–1864. By *Gertrude E. Gunn.* [Canadian Studies in History and Government, Number 7.] ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1966. Pp. 249. $4.75.)

Miss Gunn set out to write, from a new look at the primary sources, a reassessment of the formative years of parliamentary government in Newfoundland because, in printed works, the era has been treated within a general context or in a partisan manner. She has written a useful book. Her contention is that the political history of Newfoundland during this period was "peculiarly its own."

It was a period of constitutional change, stemming "from consecutive colonial

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policies inappropriate in their timing to the place." Thus, the granting of representative institutions in 1832 was an act of "Whiggish faith" by men who saw Newfoundland as a copy of England rather than of Ireland or Lower Canada. While the mainland colonies, during the 1840's, moved toward cabinet government, Newfoundland went through a period of belated experimentation with an amalgamated legislature. When the principle of responsible ministries was being implemented in Canada and Nova Scotia, the constitution of 1832 was revived in Newfoundland. At length, responsible government had to be granted to Newfoundland in 1855.

This work points up the historical foundations for the religious orientation of Newfoundland's political system. The party conflict of English Protestant and Irish Catholic after 1832 was only stilled temporarily during the period of the amalgamated legislature. A realignment of political forces was made possible by 1861, when "native" Liberals could be distinguished from "Catholic," that is, clerically inspired, Liberals. The growing numbers of Methodists and their sense of group solidarity also indicated new political possibilities. But, even then, a return to sectarian party politics was only prevented because governments became representative of the religious denominations. During the remaining years of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, the application of a religious test throughout public affairs prevented efficient pursuit of the public good.

Newfoundland, then, eventually paid a high price for this "bicultural" solution to the problem of religious and ethnic cleavage. This book can be instructive for the comparison with the solution to a similar problem in United Canada.

Memorial University of Newfoundland GERALD E. PANTING

LATIN AMERICA: A CULTURAL HISTORY. By *Germán Arciniegas*. Translated from the Spanish by *Joan MacLean*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1967. Pp. xxvii, 594, xliii. $10.00.)

THIS is an important because unique history of Latin American "culture," meaning principally its formal art, literature, and ideologies, but not its folk arts per se; its impact upon European letters and vice versa; to some extent its religion; and to a surprising extent its politics. The publisher, who commissioned the book, sees in it a complementary volume to Hubert Herring's text. And indeed, Dr. Arciniegas, for all his political references, perforce assumes a rudimentary knowledge of such developments.

In fact, though the approach is basically chronological, the author is more attuned to the fragmented and the impressionistic, and the reader is often left to piece together his own image of the whole. A fascinating final chapter on Latin America as a place of magic comes closest to a synthesis in style, but it is not a synthesis of the rest of the book at all and, indeed, comes as a surprise.

The author, one of the most prolific and humane scholars of Latin America, feels the need to promote, albeit gently, a certain cultural "White Legend" for his North American audience. The point is well taken, for his overview of the intellectual output of Latin America is impressive; his own writings should be added

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to it. Fortunately it is not just a mere catalogue of names, though one could wish for some sort of critical appraisal.

Although the author observes that the Spanish people, after forty years of feverish discovery and conquest, marked time in America for three centuries and "never took another forward step," he nonetheless devotes over one-half of the book to the colonial period. It is with the independence movement—the "masterwork of the Romantic Spirit"—however, that the author's liberalism and his sense of pride in his heritage have a chance to take over. (Brazil and Haiti are discussed separately.) Arciniegas actually provides the uninitiated with an eye opener, and the initiated with a useful reference work, a ready list of fresh observations, and a reminder that most politically oriented textbooks tell only half the story. There are a number of the inevitable small factual errors, but a more serious defect is the failure to cite and use some recent works in English, especially Professor Lanning's on the Enlightenment.

University of Toledo ARTHUR R. STEELE

LA FORMACIÓN DEL ORIENTE VENEZOLANO. Volume I, CREACIÓN DE LAS GOBERNACIONES. By *Pablo Ojer, S.J.* [Biblioteca de estudios universitarios, Number 6.] (Caracas: Universidad Católica "Andrés Bello," Facultad de Humanidades y Educación, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas. [1966.] Pp. xxxiii, 618, 7 plates.)

IN the past decade printed materials for the early colonial history of eastern Venezuela and the adjacent parts of Guiana have become far more abundant through publication of documents in Seville by Dr. Enrique Otte. Meanwhile, Father Pablo Ojer, S.J., has been examining manuscripts in Spain, Venezuela, Colombia, and Great Britain. The greatly enlarged materials thus available are the basis for a new history of sixteenth-century Spanish exploration and settlement, published by Ojer as the first of a multivolumed history of eastern Venezuela. Writing the history is not easy since exploration and settlement took place through a series of isolated expeditions of uncertain route. If successful, the expeditions left a small nucleus of Spaniards, organized as a town, to extract a living from the surrounding Indians. Inevitably the offshore island settlements of Cubagua and Margarita, easily defended and supplied, became the bases for mounting many of the expeditions and the only truly fixed points in a series of transient settlements. Ojer's study is a chronological history of the expeditions, adding new detail, making further identification of routes and sites, and discussing his reasons for choice where there is dispute. In general, his treatment amounts to changes in detail. His point of view is always that of a patriotic Venezuelan, upholding the cause of Spain and with it the claims of Venezuela as heir to Spain.

For most of the English-speaking world the most interesting part of the volume is likely to be the reassessment of Sir Walter Raleigh's earlier exploration in the valley of the Orinoco and Guiana. A word of caution: one needs to read the volume with a detailed map within reach; unfortunately the handsome reproductions of old maps in the book will not serve.

University of California, Berkeley WOODROW BORAH

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THE CABILDO IN PERU UNDER THE BOURBONS: A STUDY IN THE DECLINE AND RESURGENCE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE AUDIENCIA OF LIMA, 1700–1824. By *John Preston Moore*. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1966. Pp. vi, 275. $10.00.)

PROFESSOR Moore makes an original contribution to an important subject. The *cabildo,* or town council, occupied a unique position in the institutional structure of the Spanish Empire. White society was essentially urban, and its manifold interests in commerce, mining, and land were necessarily reflected in municipal institutions; the *cabildo,* indeed, was probably the only institution in which Creole interests were represented. A study of the colonial *cabildo,* therefore, even if it is a story of impotence, lethargy, and failure, is a study of the colonial elite and of its mouthpiece. The author, who has already published a history of the *cabildo* in Peru during the Habsburg period, now continues the story from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the eve of independence. On the basis of evidence drawn from a number of archives in Spain and Peru and a substantial body of published material, he studies the social and economic role of the *cabildo,* its finances, political functions, relations with imperial officials, and response to the post-1808 liberal regime in Spain.

On most of these topics the author provides original material, at least for the *cabildo* of Lima, but it is the later part of the book that possesses the greatest interest, dealing as it does with the impact of the reforms of Charles III, the subsequent revival of municipal activity, and the reaction of the *cabildos* to the liberal Constitution of 1812. These chapters illuminate particularly the immediate effects of the intendant system on municipal government and the limited resurgence of municipal enterprise expressed in the political lobbying and purchase of privileges by the *cabildo* of Lima in the period 1789–1806. But the author's narrative is not uniformly successful; nor is it always matched by quality of analysis. He refers, for example, to alleged animosity between Escobedo, visitor-general to Peru, and Viceroy Croix over the introduction of the intendant system, animosity for which there is no evidence. He argues that while the intendants revitalized the *cabildos* they did so at the expense of the corporations' "rights and privileges." But this imputes to the *cabildos* greater original power than they actually had and overlooks the fact that the intendants gained jurisdiction at the expense of other officials, not at the expense of the *cabildos*. The chapter on "The Impact of Spanish Liberalism" is the weakest in the book, for impact is precisely what it fails to examine: there is a lengthy description of the Constitution of 1812 but little evidence on its actual application in Peru. These criticisms, however, do not detract from the value of the book. It is a work of scholarship that adds to our knowledge of the institutional, and to some extent the social, history of the Spanish Empire, and it will occupy a permanent place in the historiography of the subject.

University College, London JOHN LYNCH

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THE LAST INCA REVOLT, 1780–1783. By *Lillian Estelle Fisher.* [The Civilization of the American Indian Series, Volume LXXVIII.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1966. Pp. xiii, 426. $6.95.)

Few of the many Indian revolts that flared up during Spanish rule in America have been adequately treated, but the uprising led by José Gabriel Tupac Amaru in 1780 in Peru is an exception and has attracted the attention of many historians. The movement has been interpreted, incorrectly, as a thrust for independence. Miss Fisher emphasizes that it was instead a desperate and unsuccessful attempt to force Spanish administrators to improve the lot of the oppressed natives, led by one of the most attractive Indian defenders in the history of colonial Peru. This educated descendant of the Incas, though a mestizo, dedicated himself to the cause of the Indians, married a "pure-bred Spaniard" and lived like a Spanish nobleman: "he usually wore long coat and knee-britches of black velvet, a ruffled shirt, a waistcoat of gold tissue . . . , embroidered linen, silk stockings, gold buckles at his knee and on his shoes, and a Spanish beaver hat. . . . He kept his hair curled in ringlets that extended nearly down to his waist."

He took up arms against Spain, nevertheless, when his prolonged efforts failed to induce the viceregal authorities to correct the many abuses suffered by the Indians. He was captured and executed, along with his wife, in May 1781. The rebellion dragged on for a couple of years more under his brother and his generals who matched the Spaniards in cruelty and ferocity. The Indians failed because they made no effort to enlist the support of mestizos or disaffected American-born Spaniards and because Spanish arms were superior.

This study rests upon considerable documentation from Peruvian and Spanish archives and provides the first detailed description in English of the greatest Indian revolt in Spanish America. But there is so much Inca genealogy, so much sheer factual information, that the reader's attention tends to wander, despite such interesting chapters as the account of the siege of La Paz and of how the Inca's wife participated actively in the rebellion. The narrative style does not match the basic drama of the revolt, and it may be questioned whether Tupac Amaru shocked the Spanish authorities into making fundamental administrative changes benefiting the Indians as the author claims.

There is little analysis or interpretation in this monograph, and slight use has been made of the many valuable Peruvian publications on the subject, including Daniel Valcárcel's report on the state of research on the topic (*Mar del Sur,* III [No. 7, 1949], 42–53). Instead, such older works as Sebastián Lorente and Clements R. Markham are cited frequently. The result is a useful but not fully achieved work.

University of California, Irvine Lewis Hanke

MARSHAL DEODORO AND THE FALL OF DOM PEDRO II. By *Charles Willis Simmons.* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1966. Pp. 174. $6.00.)

It is strange that nearly eighty years passed after the overthrow of the Western Hemisphere's only successful monarchy before a biography of Deodoro da Fon-

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seca appeared in English. This time lapse reflects the neglect of Brazilian studies in the United States in the past. The present book is an example of the new trend toward competent scholarship on Brazil.

The Brazilian Empire began in 1822 and ended in 1889, when it was overthrown by Deodoro. Under Dom Pedro II, who was crowned at the age of fifteen, Brazil rose to a position of respect and apparent solidarity Advocates of change had to await the breaking of the power of the planter class, and this was accomplished in 1888 by the abolition of slavery without compensation. The planters then turned their backs on the Emperor. Dom Pedro had already alienated the other two supporters of the monarchy—the Church and the army. By insisting on war against Paraguay from 1865 to 1870, he caused the growth of militarism and thus contributed to his own downfall. The army ousted him and created the republic. Paradoxically, the movement began merely as an effort to expel an antimilitary cabinet. Half a dozen infantry and cavalry battalions were all that were required to topple the Empire, and most Brazilians were so unconcerned they believed they were watching a parade. Though its external appearance was brilliant, the Empire had become little more than a façade.

It is a complicated story, yet in limited space Professor Simmons has done a creditable job. Deodoro is presented as a tragic figure, the tool of republican officers of Positivist persuasion. His prestige was vital to the success of the venture, and he reluctantly gave his services out of loyalty to the army. Once the republic was established those who had used Deodoro brushed him aside, and he failed as President.

Bitterly disillusioned and in ill-health, Deodoro resigned from the army, had his medals cast into the sea, and specified that he be buried without military honors. The republic stumbled on without him, beset by real and imagined monarchist plots, a naval mutiny, local revolts, and self-seeking politicians. It is not surprising that the founder of the republic became convinced that his work was a mistake.

Texas Christian University DONALD E. WORCESTER

PALENQUE: THE WALKER-CADDY EXPEDITION TO THE ANCIENT MAYA CITY, 1839–1840. Collected and edited by *David M. Pendergast.* [The American Exploration and Travel Series, Volume LII.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 213. $6.95.)

JOHN Lloyd Stephens and Frederick Catherwood, famous travelers to obscure places, arrived at Belize on their way to the Central American jungle in October 1839. While they were journeying south from Belize in search of the ruins of one Mayan city, Copán, a local British Honduras expedition was hastily formed under Patrick Walker and John Herbert Caddy to visit another, Palenque. Scholars have known almost nothing of the journey of Walker and Caddy to Palenque, for though they did visit the site before Stephens and Catherwood, the latter were far more successful in making their information known to the world. The present volume is the result of a meticulous inquiry by David Pendergast into the circumstances of the Walker-Caddy expedition. Neither of the participants

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was trained or experienced in Mayan studies. They were motivated principally by the desire to anticipate Stephens and Catherwood. Walker was an ambitious officeholder under the superintendent of British Honduras. Caddy was a soldier in the Royal Artillery and an amateur artist. Moving up the Belize River and through the Petén, they readily made their way to Palenque, about which something was already known through Del Río, Dupaix, Waldeck, and others. They stayed at the site for two weeks. Caddy's diary and Walker's official report are here published for the first time, and Pendergast has uncovered abundant information concerning the lives of the two men before and after 1839.

The diary adds an interesting and revealing item to the travel literature of Central America in the nineteenth century, but the brief expedition did not, itself, make an important contribution to knowledge. Walker's report is curiously uninformative on Palenque, and though Caddy's paintings, some of which are reproduced in this volume, provided occasional detail for sculptural elements subsequently deteriorated or effaced, the representations are too generalized and too distorted for any serious reconstruction.

University of Michigan CHARLES GIBSON

VERSIÓN FRANCESA DE MÉXICO: INFORMES DIPLOMÁTICOS. Volume IV, 1864–1867. Translated with an introduction by *Lilia Díaz*. ([México, D. F.:] Colegio de México. 1967. Pp. xxiv, 568.)

THIS is to be the last volume in a series devoted to the publication, in Spanish translation, of the correspondence between French diplomats in Mexico and the French Foreign Ministry, 1853–1867. The earliest document in the fourth volume is dated June 28, 1864, shortly after Marquis de Montholon had submitted his letters of credence to the newly arrived Emperor Maximilian of Mexico. The final document dated September 1, 1867, from New York, by Alphonse Dano, describes his last months as French minister during the catastrophic fall of Maximilian's throne. An introduction, summarizing the events of the period, precedes the more than 260 documents, presented in whole or in part. As few of these have been published previously, they provide an important new primary source. In addition to the obvious significance of the work for Latin Americanists and specialists in the Second French Empire, the documents recommend themselves to others as well. The United States Civil War, the crucial Seven Weeks' War, the Roman question, and primitive economic imperialism are each reflected in Franco-Mexican diplomacy.

All documents give the names of authors, recipients if other than the French Foreign Minister, the date and place of composition, and the volume and folio numbers from which the documents were selected at the French archives. Reserved or confidential letters are so designated. Unfortunately the numbers of official dispatches are not given. As no use is made of explanatory footnotes, it is difficult to determine whether an important document, known to have been written, is missing at the archives or was arbitrarily excluded by the editor or an archivist. Particularly mysterious is the absence of any reference to the secret conferences that took place between Teodosio Lares, President of the Mexican Imperial Coun-

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cil of Ministers, and every chief of diplomatic mission resident at Mexico City in January 1867. As Dano was among those consulted, and as several of his colleagues quoted him in their own reports to their superiors, it would have been interesting to read his account of the conference.

The work closes with a good index of the names of persons and places. Well printed, on good quality paper, the documents are clearly presented for easy reading.

We are indebted to the *Colegio de México* for making available a new source, forming, henceforth, an essential part of the literature of the several fields it touches.

Towson State College ARNOLD BLUMBERG

ÉLITES, INTELLECTUALS, AND CONSENSUS: A STUDY OF THE SOCIAL QUESTION AND THE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS SYSTEM IN CHILE. By *James O. Morris*. [Cornell International Industrial and Labor Relations Report, Number 7.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University. 1966. Pp. xviii, 292. $6.00.)

IN this book Professor Morris attempts to answer the question of why the majority of the Chilean working class remains loyal to the revolutionary Socialist and Communist parties in spite of the country's long record of political democracy. He finds the answer to this problem in a lack of consensus among the various classes that make up Chile's population.

Morris' vehicle for developing his theme is the early history of the country's labor and social legislation. He is particularly well qualified since he is one of the recognized experts on Chilean organized labor; he spent several years in developing labor education programs for the University of Chile.

The author's fundamental argument, based on the situation of Chilean labor relations, is that the upper and middle classes have never been willing to accept the equality of the country's lower classes, particularly its wage earners. They have tended to carry over to the nation's principally urban society the beliefs and attitudes characteristic of the rural *fundo* or plantation.

The *fundo* was the heritage of the Spanish conquest. Its owner was a man of predominantly European extraction, while the workers on it were strongly Indian in their ancestry. Traditionally the proprietor of the *fundo* had regarded his workers as "children," beings of innately inferior quality, incapable of ever being treated as equals. For his part, the rural peon had tended to look upon the owner as a father figure and to turn to him in all of life's major and minor crises.

The emergence of a middle class, increasingly based on industry, did not fundamentally change this situation. Rather than developing any sense of basic conflict of interest with the old aristocracy, the middle class sought to copy the customs and behavior of the traditional landowning class.

This situation resulted in the framework of labor relations that developed in the middle 1920's and has largely persisted to this day. Even the enactment of the legislation establishing this framework was granted only grudgingly under the

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impact of a military *coup* that overthrew President Arturo Alessandri in September 1924.

The enactment of most of the Chilean labor code in 1924 was, however, preceded by several years of controversy. Two basic types of legislation were proposed, one by the Catholic upper-class elite and the other by the anticlerical middle-class elite. The former sought to legislate a kind of employer paternalism for industrial labor, as similar as possible to the traditional system in rural areas; the latter substituted government paternalism for that of the employers. What actually passed in 1924 was a compromise between the two that has persistently hampered the development of a really free trade-union movement.

In a preliminary discussion of the whole question of consensus in national politics, Morris offers some sociological and psychological reasons for the lack of it in Chile, including a supposed failure of Latin Americans to accept the reality of death. I am generally skeptical of such speculative suggestions, but they do not detract from this book, which is one of the most useful studies of a Latin American country to appear in several years.

Rutgers University ROBERT J. ALEXANDER

VEINTICINCO AÑOS DE INVESTIGACIÓN HISTÓRICA EN MÉXICO. [Edición especial de *Historia Mexicana.*] ([México, D. F.:] Colegio de México. 1966. Pp. 674.)

ON its twenty-fifth anniversary, the *Colegio de México* devoted three issues, LVIII–LX, of its excellent journal *Historia Mexicana* to a series of bibliographical summaries of important historical works produced in and about Mexico during the past quarter century. This volume places all three between a single set of covers, repaginates, and provides a detailed name index. Without trying to monopolize credit for the *Colegio,* the editor, Jorge A. Manrique, notes the important role this institution has played in the professionalization in Mexico of the study and teaching of history, trends clearly evidenced by the impressive annotated listings in a wide variety of fields.

Each selection is an essay in which the authors summarize the state of the literature, usually pointing out major works. Generally the summary is followed by an annotated bibliography. These are organized somewhat differently for each section; the section devoted to the history of science uniquely appends bibliographical notes to the essay. There is also some necessary duplication, with the same work appearing in more than one listing. In short, this is a collection of selective scholarly bibliographies, not a unified comprehensive bibliography.

In each case the specialists are well known, competent practitioners. The fields and topics they cover include the specialized history of ideas, historiography, plastic arts, science, education, religion, literature, diplomacy, economic and social history, and political history by periods (colonial, nineteenth century, and Revolution). Final essays crosscutting these are period bibliographies of national history: pre-Hispanic, independence, French intervention, general national syntheses, then histories of America and the Philippines and of Spain, and, finally, universal history. A long final portion deals with auxiliaries to historiography: bib-

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liography, archives, museums, genealogy and heraldry, numismatics, paleography, and sigillography.

The coverage is, predictably, slightly uneven, as much because of variation in approaches of the contributors as from the diverse growth rates of their subspecialties. Notably weak on the latter score are the general syntheses of national or hemispheric history, histories of education, and diplomatic history covering other than US relations. Counterbalancing strengths are found in the history of ideas, historiography, pre-Hispanic and colonial periods, and literary history. Curiously omitted is the history of music, in which Mexicans have made important contributions to national and general knowledge.

This is an illuminating and useful volume. Its high quality reflects the solid merits of the institution that sponsored it and the cultural progress its contributions document.

Library of Congress HOWARD F. CLINE

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* * * Other Recent Publications * * *

Articles and Other Books Received*

General

ARTICLES

Abraham Ascher. Axelrod and Kautsky. *Slavic Rev.*, Mar. 1967.

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* * * * Association Notes * * * *

American Historical Association

With this number, the *American Historical Review* becomes a bimonthly publication. It will appear in October, December, February, April, and June. The added issue will make possible an increase in the book reviewing section of the journal and permit us to accept a few more articles each year. The Board of Editors believes that the *Review* should continue its traditional course, publishing articles that reflect the most important original work that is being done in various fields. The Board also feels, however, that the *Review* should seek to attract manuscripts that interest a wide segment of its subscribers. The *Review* will hope to publish, therefore, articles that may be read with profit by the specialist for their intrinsic interest or by the nonspecialist for the insights into methodological problems they offer, for the fruitful comparisons they suggest, or for the speculative generalizations they may stimulate.

The Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association will be held in Toronto, Canada, December 28–30, 1967, at the Royal York and King Edward Hotels, with the Professional Register located in the nearby Lord Simcoe Hotel. Twenty-three hundred rooms have been reserved at these three hotels, and an additional eight hundred have been reserved at nearby hotels. Information about locations, rates, and detailed instructions will be sent to all members when the program of the meeting is distributed in midautumn. All room reservations will be arranged by the AHA Housing Bureau operated by the Metropolitan Toronto Convention and Visitor Association. Applications should *not* be made directly to the hotels.

There will be no advance registration for the meeting. The badge for admittance to sessions and tickets for the luncheons and dinner listed in the program may be obtained at the registration desk, located in the Convention Lobby on the Convention Floor of the Royal York Hotel. The desk will be open Wednesday, December 27, from 3 p.m. until 10 p.m.; Thursday, December 28, from 8 a.m. until 6 p.m.; Friday, December 29, from 8:30 a.m. until 4:30 p.m.; and Saturday, December 30, from 8:30 a.m. until 12:30 p.m. Names of those attending and their local addresses while at the meeting will be available at the locator file, adjacent to the registration desk.

Throughout the Annual Meeting, the Professional Register will operate on the lower floor of the Lord Simcoe Hotel in Salons B and C. Candidates may join the Register or bring their papers up to date at the meeting if they have not already done so by mail. Prospective employers may review the Register's vita files, and they may also have their staff needs posted. Departmental representatives can further facilitate matters if they notify the Professional Register by December 1 of their hiring needs.

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Both candidates and employers should list their local addresses with the Professional Register as soon as they arrive in Toronto because the Register will make every effort to expedite the interviewing process. Candidates must be AHA members before joining the Register. The initial fee is three dollars; the annual renewal charge, one dollar. The services of the Register are available to employers without charge. For additional information, consult the program of the Annual Meeting and the December 1967 *AHA Newsletter,* or write the Association at 400 A Street, S. E., Washington, D. C. 20003.

MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AHA HEADQUARTERS MAY 13, 1967, 10:00 A.M.

The chairman, AHA President Hajo Holborn, called the meeting to order. Present were: Mr. Holborn; John K. Fairbank, Vice-President; Elmer Louis Kayser, Treasurer; Paul L. Ward, Executive Secretary; Henry R. Winkler, Managing Editor of the *Review;* Council members Thomas C. Cochran, Philip D. Curtin, Wallace Ferguson, and John L. Snell, Jr.; voting former Presidents Frederic C. Lane and Roy F. Nichols; and Assistant Executive Secretary Robert L. Zangrando. Council members Julian P. Boyd, Richard Hofstadter, Carl E. Schorske, and William B. Willcox were unable to attend.

The minutes of the meeting of December 27, 1966, were approved, together with the supplementary action by postcard ballot initiated January 6, 1967, appointing Mr. Fairbank to the vacancy on the Executive Committee and approving the reappointment of Percy Ebbott to the Board of Trustees.

The Council approved the following actions of the Executive Committee: expansion of the *Review* from four to five issues, upon recommendation of the Board of Editors; and revision of the membership of the Committee to Collect the Quantitative Data of History to reflect the Council's enlargement of that committee's scope at the meeting of December 27, 1966.

The next item was appointment of a delegate to the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE). Mr. Ward referred the Council to the report of the delegate for 1966, Charles G. Sellers, Jr. On Mr. Ward's recommendation, the Council named Henry Cord Meyer to serve as the delegate to NCATE from November 1967 to November 1969, provided he consents.

The Council next considered the nomination of an AHA representative to the National Research Council. Mr. Ward explained that he and the other officers had deemed it consonant with established policy to ask for formal affiliation with the Division of Behavioral Sciences of the National Research Council, upon being invited to do so. This invitation was only one of a number of recent developments in line with the argument of John Higham's article in the October 1966 *Review*. Upon Mr. Ward's recommendation, C. Vann Woodward was appointed, if he will consent.

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Mr. Ward then reported on the Consortium of Professional Associations for the Study of Special Teacher Improvement Programs (CONPASS). AHA delegates to CONPASS are Mr. Ward and John M. Thompson. Mr. Thompson's term expires this spring, but he is willing to continue to serve and indeed is accepting election as chairman of CONPASS. The American Council of Learned Societies, the American Economic Association, and the American Political Science Association have joined CONPASS recently, and it has reorganized in order to be better able to advise and influence the Office of Education in connection with teacher improvement programs. The Council appointed Mr. Thompson as delegate to CONPASS through June 30, 1969.

The Council then turned to a series of committee matters.

Mr. Ward, as secretary of the Joint Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Historians under the First Amendment, requested an appropriation of $3,000.00, from the corresponding AHA fund for the treasurer of the joint committee. The joint committee had voted to appropriate $1,000.00 to apply for a writ of certiorari from the Supreme Court to complete the *Stevens* v. *Frick* case and had also voted to contribute $4,000.00 toward legal expenses incurred in connection with the *Frick* v. *Stevens* case still pending in the Carlisle, Pennsylvania, court. The Organization of American Historians had accordingly sent $2,000.00 and the Association $3,000.00, as an advance, to the joint committee.

Mr. Cochran asked whether it would be appropriate for the Council to authorize a second appeal to AHA members for funds in case such funds should be needed before the December meeting. The Council agreed that if, for example, the judge in Pennsylvania were to rule for Mr. Stevens, and Miss Frick then appealed, the Association should be ready to act to emphasize the constitutional issue on the appellate level. The Council accordingly voted to authorize the Treasurer to expend at his discretion all of the money in the Fund for the Defense of the Rights of Historians and to authorize the Executive Secretary to ask for additional contributions from AHA members if he deems it necessary.

Next the Council considered a three-part proposal from the Committee on Ph.D. Programs in History. The committee asked for the Council's judgment on principle, and also for comments on emphases, respecting a draft statement of "Standards for Ph.D. Programs in History," which it submitted with the understanding that further reworking was needed and that an introduction is to be added. A draft panel of consultants was appended to the statement.

Section I of the committee's proposal was that the statement of standards, when completed, be published in the *AHA Newsletter* and transmitted to the Council of Graduate Schools, the Office of Education, and the six regional accrediting associations, for use in their evaluations of doctoral programs in history.

Section II of the proposal directed the Council's attention to the list of historians who will be invited to advise and evaluate Ph.D. programs in history and proposed that the list of those willing to serve be transmitted to the Council of Graduate Schools, the Office of Education, the six regional accrediting

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associations, and, on request, to history departments and deans of graduate schools who desire advice. The committee further proposed that the list be accompanied by the suggestion that any evaluation involve at least two consultants representing different broad fields of history and that the list be revised every two years by a standing Committee on Ph.D. Programs in History.

Section III of the proposal suggested that the Council authorize the existing committee or a new committee to draw up a list of departments now offering Ph.D. programs in history that meet the criteria and standards being drafted; such a list could be expanded from time to time by regular review procedures and would be published in up-to-date form in each issue of the *AHA Newsletter.*

Some Council members felt Section III presented more difficulty than the preceding two sections. The Council decided, therefore, to vote on Sections I and II first and then to discuss and vote on Section III. On the basis of preceding detailed discussion, Sections I and II were approved.

Mr. Lane said there is no doubt that the Association is moving in the direction of accreditation, but that it will be a very serious step to start implicitly disapproving institutions with which some of our members are affiliated. Mr. Snell reiterated his hope that the Association would take the proposed step, saying that if it delayed any further it would abandon a responsibility to graduate students. He pointed out that this is the second AHA committee to propose this course of action; he then moved the approval of Section III, with the provision that the up-to-date list of institutions that meet acceptable standards will be published in the *AHA Newsletter,* beginning with the first issue of 1969. The motion carried.

Mr. Ward reported that John Bowditch III is resigning from the Committee on Ph.D. Programs in History because he is going to France to do research. The Council voted to give the Executive Secretary the authority to make an appointment to replace Mr. Bowditch as chairman of the committee.

Mr. Snell pointed out that since the Council has in effect made this a standing committee, it might be advisable to enlarge or alter its membership. The Council voted to inform the Committee on Committees that the Committee on Ph.D. Programs in History had been made a standing committee and to recommend that the Committee on Committees consider the question of its size and composition and make a recommendation, including a plan for rotation of members, to the Council at its meeting in December 1967.

The next item was a request forwarded by the Committee on International Historical Activities that the AHA send congratulations to the Hungarian Historical Association on its one-hundredth anniversary. Mr. Ward acknowledged that, like other such scholarly groups in iron curtain countries, the HHA functions through a government institute. It was moved that Mr. Holborn draft an appropriate congratulatory message in Latin; he indicated willingness; and the motion carried.

A preliminary draft proposal from the Committee on International Historical Activities by which the Association would seek funds under the International Education Act to establish an Office of International Historical Activity was discussed. This office would serve initially as a clearinghouse of information on

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international historical activities. The proposal called for funds for a small staff, compilation of resource files, and occasional publications. It was moved that the draft proposal be received by the Council with interest. The motion carried.

Mr. Ward reported that he had not yet been able to find someone to gather information and raise funds for the proposed national center for historical research.

Mr. Holborn reported that the East German archives are now open to United States historians. He suggested that the invitation of last December might be renewed, inviting individual East German historians to attend the AHA 1967 Annual Meeting. The consensus of the Council was to defer this until the Annual Meeting was again held in the United States.

Mr. Ward discussed the progress of the Joint Committee on the Status of the National Archives. Mr. Boyd and Kent Roberts Greenfield represented the AHA on the committee that was formed as a result of Mr. Boyd's resolution last December. It first met on March 15, following an opportunity for Mr. Boyd, Mr. Ward, and some others to talk with the Bureau of the Budget, which is starting its own study of the status of the National Archives. The committee was keenly aware that the Bureau of the Budget may make recommendations contrary to those of the committee. A request was made to the Council on Library Resources for funds to prepare a report that will summarize as solidly as possible the deliberations of the committee. A grant of $2,500.00 was received for this purpose, and H. G. Jones, State Archivist of North Carolina, has secured a three-week leave of absence to come to Washington and draft the report.

Mr. Ward reported that Representative F. Bradford Morse of Massachusetts has introduced a bill in Congress that is wholly in accord with the resolution proposed by the Committee on the Commemoration of the American Revolution Bicentennial and adopted by the Council and membership of the AHA in December, which calls for an authorization of $200,000.00 for the first two years of operation of the national American Revolution Bicentennial Celebration.

Mr. Ward informed the Council that, instead of awarding a prize this year, the Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Award is preparing a proposal to change the terms of the award. This proposal will be laid before the new Committee on Prizes and Awards.

In Mr. Ward's discussion of relations with the Organization of American Historians he first announced that the Council is invited by the Council of the OAH to be its guests at a breakfast at the 1967 Annual Meeting. He added that the OAH has set up a new committee on the future of the OAH to consider what should be done for the future good of the profession.

Mr. Ward commented on the Belmont Conference on Bibliographical Services to History, acknowledging that part of the success of the conference resulted from the facilities of the Belmont Estate, which the Smithsonian Institution is making available to any group planning an overnight meeting. A preliminary report from Aubrey C. Land, staff director for the Joint Committee on Bibliographical Services to History, included the following recommendations:

I. Characteristics of the bibliographical services desirable for history

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a. *Coverage of fields:* the bibliography aimed at should embrace all of history, but for practical reasons American (US) history should be the first field covered as an initial step in realizing the total scheme.
b. *Coverage of the literature:* the bibliographical service should include books (monographs), journal articles, such semipublished matter as machine-produced and mimeographed reports, relevant ephemera, but not manuscripts.
c. *Arrangement:* the compilers should ensure that the classification of materials is compatible with the Library of Congress thesaurus.

II. Research in Progress
The joint committee recommends that the American Historical Association expand publication of research in progress, exploring possibilities of cooperation with appropriate agencies such as the Department of State, Smithsonian Institution, National Science Foundation, University Microfilms, and similar organizations.

III. Organizational Arrangements
a. The joint committee recommends that the American Historical Association create a committee to study and act upon the matter of bibliographical services and to implement recommendations I and II above, consulting with the organizations constituting the joint committee and seeking broader representation in the profession (European, Asian, and so forth).
b. The joint committee urges the Executive Secretary of the American Historical Association to move the Council of the Association to appoint a professional staff to establish an information science system for history.

The Council voted to create a committee to study and make recommendations on bibliographical services and to implement recommendations I and II and authorized the Executive Secretary to proceed with the naming of the committee in consultation with the Executive Committee. The Council, in response to the second part of recommendation III, also authorized the Executive Secretary to raise funds for a pilot study directed at arriving at a comprehensive plan for an information science system for history.

The Council moved on to a consideration of the question of size of the Nominating Committee, which was scheduled to meet May 20. It was moved that the committee be composed of seven members with terms of two years: three members to be appointed one year; and four members, the alternate year. Council members said that though the committee's membership should be as representative as possible, continuity can be carried too far, since the committee nominates its own members and could theoretically be used to perpetuate cliques unless turnover is relatively rapid. The Council approved the motion. Mr. Ward said he would take it to the Nominating Committee on May 20, and if there were objection he would refer it to the Executive Committee for a decision. It was agreed that no new arrangement can be put into effect until 1968, since a constitutional amendment is needed to change the composition of the Nominating Committee.

Mr. Ward discussed a letter from Louis Morton, chairman of the Program Committee of the Toronto meeting, who wrote that he is under great pressure from groups that meet jointly with the Association to include in the Annual Meetings sessions planned not by the Program Committee but by those groups. Members pointed out that there is already a policy adopted by the Council leaving to the discretion of the chairman of the Program Committee whether to include any given session or not. Alternative methods of dealing with these

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pressures were discussed. Some members agreed with Mr. Morton that joint sessions might best be ruled out altogether, but others felt the Association would still wish to draw on many of the same groups and have their cooperation. Mr. Ward preferred to talk the matter over with the chairman for 1968, who will soon be appointed, and bring a recommendation to the Council for action in December.

It was the consensus of the group that the appropriate time to make matters clear to the chairmen of the groups would be immediately after the 1967 Annual Meeting.

The Council moved on to the report of the Executive Secretary. Mr. Ward commented on the status of the copyright law revision. Copies of his testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Patents, Trademarks and Copyrights had been distributed by mail, and Mr. Ward added that at a future hearing the Association understands that Senator George S. McGovern will testify, if he can, to underline the points the AHA most needs to emphasize to the subcommittee. He mentioned that Walter Rundell, Jr., has suggested that the Association, at its December Business Meeting, pass a resolution asking state archivists to permit documents to be photographed for use elsewhere by historians, as provided by the new law.

Next Mr. Ward reported on three projects being carried on under grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The projected volume on freedom under law to be drawn from colonial legal records is well begun under the directorship of Neal W. Allen, Jr. The survey of bibliographical services to history, under Mr. Land's direction, was discussed earlier in the meeting. The newest project on collection of comparative historical statistics will be directed by Jacob M. Price of the University of Michigan. Mr. Zangrando, who has been doing the staff work for the Committee to Collect the Quantitative Data of History, reported that his recent talk with Mr. Price had gone well and that Mr. Price's design involves conferences at Ann Arbor in November and December that are expected to formulate a project to succeed the present study.

Mr. Zangrando commented on the status of two projects involving applications to the Office of Education. A grant of $5,000.00 for a project on film criteria was obtained. A Service Center pamphlet is planned, and a session will be held at the Toronto meeting, on the use of films. The project is eliciting cooperation on all sides and represents an initial step for improving use of films and other audio-visual aids in the teaching of history. The proposal to establish a School History Projects Board, he said, seems on the verge of being rejected by the Office of Education. The latter has been informed that further delay in reaching a decision would be detrimental to the historical profession and that a decision for or against will be appreciated so that alternative steps can be initiated.

Mr. Ward has accepted an invitation to testify at the hearings in June on the possible establishment of a national social science foundation. He said that he could testify either as an individual or on behalf of the AHA. The Council decided to leave it to his discretion, depending on the character of the hearings and of other testimony. Council members called his attention to its endorsement

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with qualifications of the idea of a National Social Science Foundation, as adopted at the December meeting. In response to a question about the likelihood of the National Science Foundation's broadening its scope, Mr. Ward said that Rowland L. Mitchell, Jr., of the Social Science Research Council, a member of the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government, has undertaken to discuss with Howard H. Hines of the National Science Foundation the variety of applications currently received by the SSRC from historians.

Next on the agenda was discussion of the questionnaire about to be sent to AHA members in the interest of preparing a better membership directory. A series of letters and numbers following the individual's name in the proposed directory will indicate his professional category and historical specialty. Not only will the information elicited by the questionnaire provide a better directory, Mr. Ward said, but it will enable the Association to run basic statistical analyses of its membership that are needed for reference in discussions with agencies. The Council approved the draft questionnaire. Mr. Ward said he hoped it would be appropriate to speak on the results of it at the 1967 Annual Meeting.

The Council considered the Treasurer's report. The first item concerned two additions to the staff, which needed Council approval. Mr. Ward reported that the IBM machines that the Association had installed recently expanded the useful work of the business office to the point where it was necessary to add an accountant-secretary to the staff. The second staff addition proposed was for the *Review,* and Mr. Winkler explained that he had in mind a graduate student to be added on a part-time basis as a reader. The Council approved these two additions.

Next the Council heard and approved the staff salaries proposed for the fiscal year beginning September 1, 1967.

Mr. Kayser presented the interim budget report, explaining that some adjustment had been made so that the budget would more accurately reflect the actual income and expenditures of the Association for each major AHA activity. He also explained that next year the Association is going to draw on the remainder of the Service Center Fund to help pay for its expenses. This has not been done this year since the increase in annual dues has not yet been offset by the increase from four to five issues annually of the *Review.*

The next item in the Treasurer's report was a proposal to purchase property adjoining 400 A Street, S. E. This purchase would add a third piece of property to the Association's holdings and give it a more nearly square plot of land located on a corner. By holding such property the Association is better protected against efforts to assemble large holdings surrounding the AHA offices. The adjoining house is zoned for dwelling, and Mr. Kayser proposed that the AHA plan to rent three floors as apartments. At a later time it could be decided whether to expand the Association's office space into the new building, which would require rezoning. Richard D. Broeckel, the business manager, has suggested that since such rental would be an income-producing operation, and so subject to tax, a separate corporation should be organized to conduct it. Mr. Broeckel is an attorney and will be able to draw up the necessary legal papers.

The Council voted that the documents be drawn up and that the AHA

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office be authorized to purchase the property known as 404 A Street, S. E., for $43,500.00, and to spend not more than $15,000.00 for these purposes: to renovate it in order to rent apartments, to set up a corporation for such purposes, and to break through the wall dividing the two basements.

The Treasurer asked the Council's advice on what to do with fifty shares of Caterpillar Tractor stock donated earlier by Helen Taft Manning as a contribution either toward a national center for scholars or to the endowment fund. He proposed that the shares be added to the endowment fund with the provision that if and when a national historical center begins operating, the Council will appropriate $1,500.00 from the Association's operating funds for the center. He said $1,500.00 represented the value of the shares at the time they were donated. A motion to this effect was made and carried.

The last item was a proposed policy on travel expenses for speakers, which the Council approved as follows:

> When the AHA, through the Service Center for Teachers or a committee, finds itself obligated to identify and secure a speaker as part of a program or project undertaken jointly with another organization, if the desired speaker cannot routinely secure the travel expenses from his own institution or otherwise, the AHA will, at the Executive Secretary's discretion, depart from its usual practice and itself contribute to or meet his travel expenses. The same rule will be extended to cover, when necessary and on the nomination of the Program Committee or the Executive Committee, one outstanding speaker from abroad at the Annual Meeting.

Then Mr. Zangrando provided the Council with information on the reactions he has received in connection with the Council's decision last December to note in professional register listings the institutions currently on the AAUP censure list. Four such institutions were then being listed. One asked to drop out; a second protested; in the case of the other two, letters came from department chairmen thanking the Association for providing them with leverage in their negotiations with their administrations. Members of the Council commented that graduate students had remarked to them on the helpfulness of such a listing.

Upon motion, the meeting adjourned at 3:30 p.m.

PAUL L. WARD, *Executive Secretary*

RECENT DEATHS

Alice M. Christensen of San Antonio, Texas, died December 23, 1966.

Agnes M. Larson, former chairman of the history department at St. Olaf College, died January 24, 1967.

Edwin C. McReynolds, professor emeritus at the University of Oklahoma, died February 9.

John M. Gulick of Cape Elizabeth, Maine, died March 6.

James J. Vulfson of Washington, D. C., died March 17.

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Rosemary A. Higgins of Westbury, New York, died March 22.

Stanley J. Zyzniewski of the University of Kentucky died April 6.

Kathryn Abbey Hanna, a founder of the Southern Historical Association and its president from 1952 to 1953, died April 16, at the age of seventy-one. Her publications and activities primarily concerned the state of Florida.

Gladys Gilmore, a professor at San Jose State College since 1957, died April 24.

Beverly McAnear, research professor at William Woods College, died May 15.

F. Lee Benns, a former professor at Indiana University, died on May 16 at the age of seventy-eight.

Philip Mason Marston of Durham, New Hampshire, died May 29.

Klaus Epstein, chairman of the department at Brown University, died June 26, at the age of forty, in Bonn, Germany. Among his more recent publications is *The Genesis of German Conservatism* (1966).

Samuel McKee, Jr., of Alexandria, Virginia, died June 30.

Lena Chew Van Bibber of Elkridge, Maryland, and Mabel C. Weaks of Dallas, Texas, life members of the Association, died recently.

Brother M. Alphonsus, M.A., of New York City, M. F. Carpenter of Monticello, Iowa, John Francis McCrystal of Sandusky, Ohio, John A. Riggs of Cambridge, Massachusetts, and J. M. Watkins of Baton Rouge, Louisiana, died recently.

Communications

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

Paul L. Hughes's review of Mary Claridge's *Margaret Clitherow* (*AHR*, LXXII [Apr. 1967], 970) is probably as favorable a review as a hagiographer has any reason to expect from a historian. However, Professor Hughes charges her with an error of fact in that she asserts (p. 61) that the use of informers was introduced into English anti-Roman Catholic legislation in 1581, whereas it had clearly been anticipated by a proclamation of Henry VIII and an edict of Elizabeth I. Claridge is quite right. The *Act to retain the Queen's majesty's subjects in their due obedience,* 23 Eliz. I, c. 1 (1581) is the first instance in which the informer appears in *legislation*. Claridge (p. 61) recognizes, at least by inference, that informers were used earlier, but proclamations and edicts are not legislation. The fact that the right of the informer to one-third of all fines collected as the result of his information was included in the statute gave the informer the right to initiate proceedings against a recusant in his own name so that he could recover his share of the recusancy fines in the royal courts, a right not available to him under either proclamations or edicts.

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This is, admittedly, a minor and extremely technical point. But to charge Claridge with a factual error, when in fact no such error was committed, is far from minor and could cast severe doubt on the value of her otherwise acceptable biography.

Northern Michigan University ANTHONY H. FORBES

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Forbes's criticism of my review of Claridge's *Margaret Clitherow* stems from the difference in our respective definitions of royal proclamations issued during the Tudor period. In our 1964 work on Tudor proclamations (*AHR,* LXX [Jan. 1965], 523) James F. Larkin, C.S.V., and I clearly stated our belief in the legislative nature of Tudor proclamation law. This Holdsworthian definition was not challenged by the scholars who reviewed our work. Forbes's sweeping generalization, "proclamations and edicts are not legislation," imposes a narrow, and to me repugnant, definition on the term legislation, and therefore I cannot accept seriously his criticism of my essay.

Wisconsin State University, Whitewater PAUL L. HUGHES

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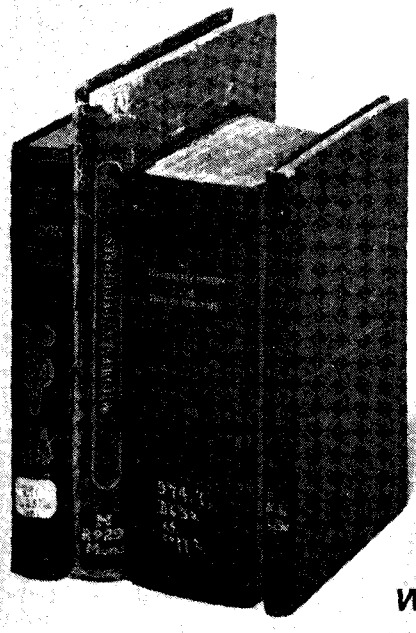
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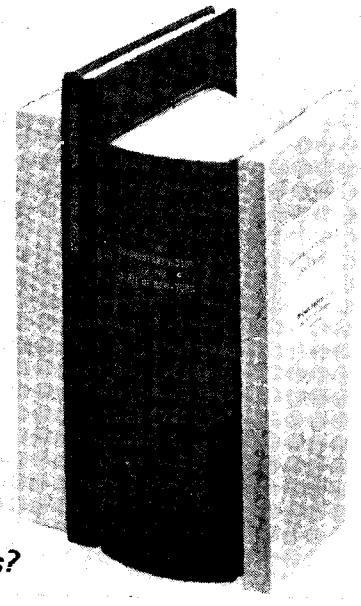
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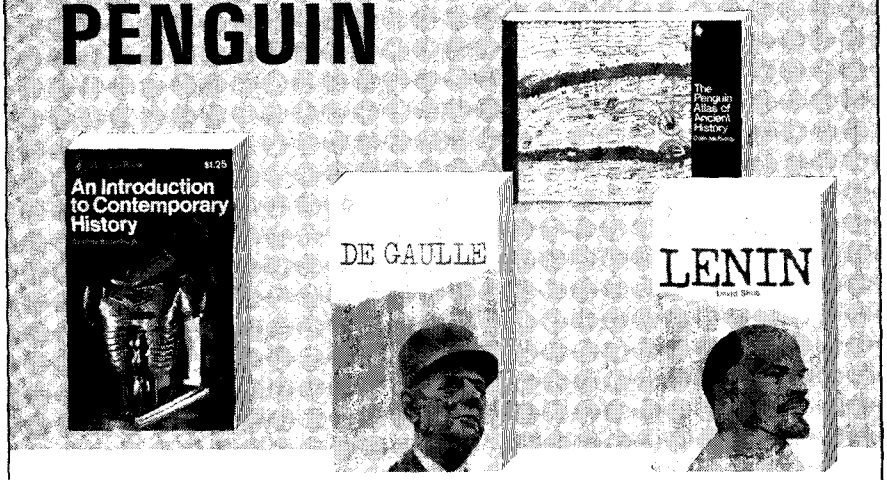
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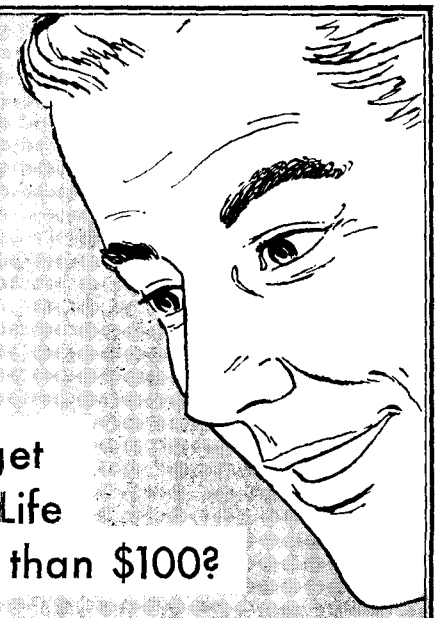
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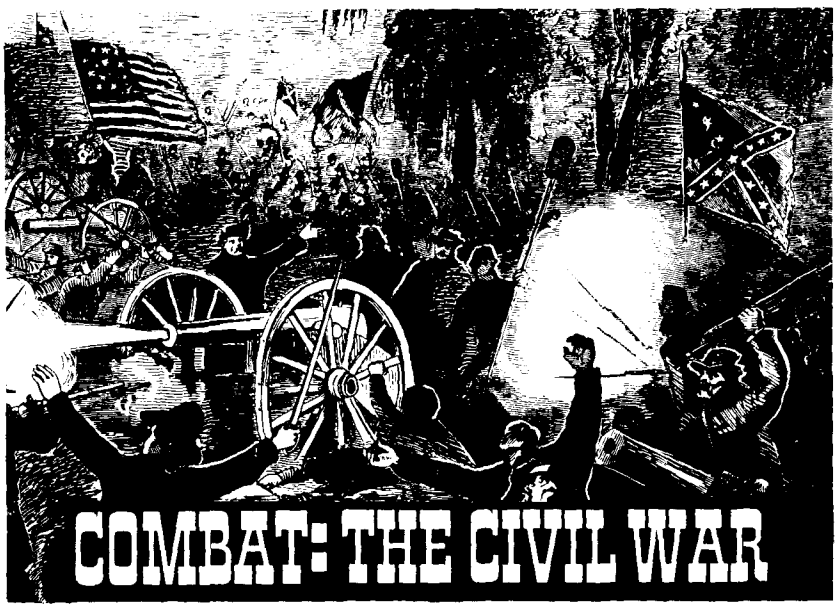
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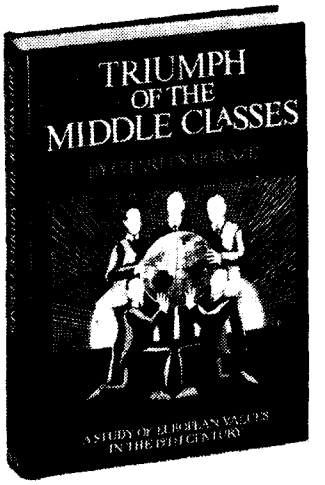
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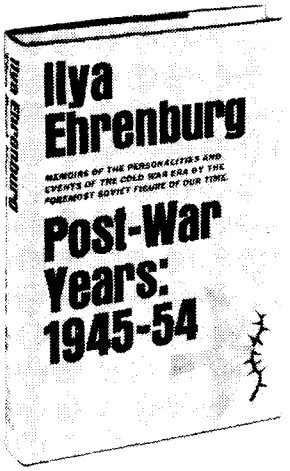
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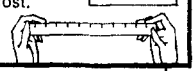
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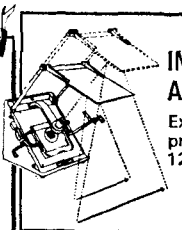
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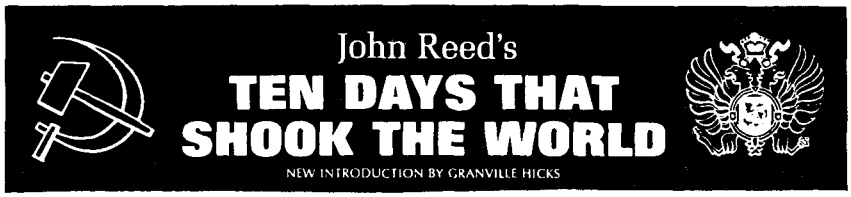
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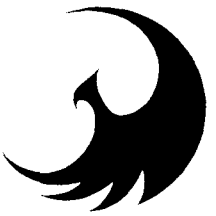
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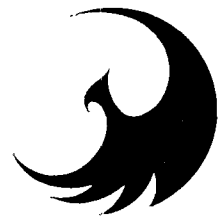
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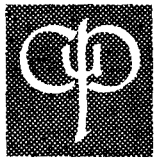
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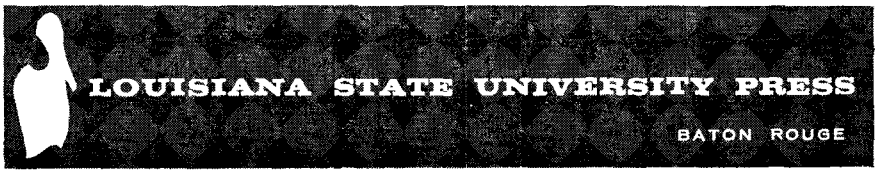
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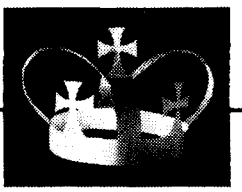
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